

They seemed to be passing
 Their spears,
 Their shields.
 They looked like real people.
 Really like warriors
 They looked
 When the Tribes saw them.
 And all the Tribes rejoiced
 At not seeing too many,
 For the Tribes numbered very many.
 Innumerable people
 Were the soldiers,
 Were the warriors,
 Were the killers
 For Jaguar Quiche,
 Jaguar Night,
 And Nought.
 This was on top of the mountain
 Called Fire Peak that they were then.
 And they went on in there
 As we shall recount.

LXVII

And there were there Jaguar Quiche,
 Jaguar Night,
 Nought
 And Wind Jaguar.
 All together they were
 On top of the mountain
 With their wives
 And children.
 And then came all the soldiers,
 The warriors.
 They were not just sixteen thousand
 Nor twenty four thousand in the Tribes
 Surrounding
 The back of the town.
 They shouted.
 They were all equipped
 With lances
 With shields.
 They burst their lungs:
 They yelled,
 They screamed,
 They shouted,
 They gloated,
 They whistled on their hands.
 They just came below the town,

6941. The MS has *mahucotah*.

K u kala 'on
 Ki ch'ab,
 6920 Ki pokob. 6920
 Qitzih vinaq k e vachinik.
 Qitzih chi 'e kamizanel
 K e vachinik.
 Ta x k il amaq'.
 K e kikot q'ut r onohel amaq'.
 Ma vi ha nik x k ilo.
 Tzatz ri 'amaq' ch u q'oheyik.
 Ma vi 'ahilan chi vinaq.
 E 'ah labal,
 6930 E pu kamizanel. 6930
 E kamizay
 R ech ri Balam Kitze,
 Balam Aqab,
 Mahuq'utah.
 Are q'o ch u vi huyub.
 Haka Vitz u bi 'e q'o vi.
 Are q'ut k okibexik va
 X chi qa biih chik.

LXVII

Are q'ut e q'o chiri Balam Kitze,
 6940 Balam Aqab, 6940
 Mahuq'utah,*
 Iq'i Balam.
 Xa hun e q'o vi
 Ch u vi huyub
 R uq k ixoqil,
 K alquval.
 Ta x e pe q'ut r onohel ah labal,
 E kamizanel.
 Ma vi xa ka chuy,
 6950 Ox chuy chi'amaq' 6950
 X kotokomih
 Chi r ih tinamit.
 K e 'ominik;
 E viqitalik
 Chi ch'ab,
 Chi pokob.
 Chi ki q'ozih ki chi;
 K e lulutik;
 K e ch'aninik;
 6960 Chi 'ominik; 6960
 Ki yuyub;
 Ki xul q'ab.
 Xa x e 'ok ch u xe tinamit.

The Fourth Creation

But nothing inspired fear
 In the sacrificers,
 The worshippers.
 They just watched there at the edge of the fortress;
 They lined up there
 With their wives,
 Their children. 6970
 Their hearts just turned to deeds
 And words to trouble the Tribes,
 Who were climbing up the face of the mountain
 And just a little more
 Before they would make it to the edge of the town.
 And so then they opened
 The jars,
 Of which there were four in the town,
 And then the hornets came out,
 And the wasps. 6980
 Like smoke they were
 As they came from each of the jars.
 And the warriors were finished off
 By the insects,
 Alighting on their eyes,
 And alighting on their noses,
 On their mouths,
 (On their faces,)
 On their legs,
 On their arms. 6990
 Wherever they went they got them,
 Wherever they might go they nabbed them.
 Everything was hornets
 And wasps,
 Alighting to bite their eyes,
 So that they had to watch swarms of them.
 Indeed there were so many insects
 After each man
 That they were stupified from the hornets
 And wasps. 7000
 They could no longer hold their spears
 And their shields.
 They were swollen and beaten to the surface of the
 earth.
 They scattered completely.

Ma q'u ha bi ka ki xibih k ib
 Ri 'ah q'ixib,
 Ah k'ahib.
 Xa k e kay ulok ch u chi q'ox tun.
 E cholon ulok
 R uq k ixoqil,
 K alquval. 6970
 Xa k ul ki k'ux banoh *
 K u zuy tzih ri 'amaq'.
 Ta x e 'aqan q'ut ch u vach huyub.
 Xa q'u zkakin chik
 Ma vi k e tzakonik ch u chi tinamit.
 Kate puch ta x haq u vi
 Ri kokob,
 Kahib q'o vi chi tinamit.
 Ta x e 'el q'u ri vonon,
 Zital. 6980
 Kehe ri zib
 Ta x el ch u pam ri huhun chi kokob.
 K utzin q'u ri 'ah labal
 R umal chikop.
 Tak'atoh ch u baq' ki vach;*
 Tak'atoh puch chi ki tzam,
 Chi ki chi,
 (Chi ki vach,)*
 Chi k aqan,
 Chi ki q'ab.* 6990
 A q'o vi x chi be ki chapa;*
 A 'on q'o vi x chi be ki maha.
 R onohel q'o vi vonon,
 Zital.
 Tak'atoh ch u tiyomal u baq' u vach,*
 X chi k ilih ch u buch.*
 A he tak chikop
 Chi r ih ri huhun chi vinaq.
 X e q'abarik r umal vonon,
 Zital. 7000
 Ma vi x chapatah chik ki ch'ab,
 Ki pokob.
 K e von q'oyehayik ch u vach tak ulev.
 K e lahahik.

6971-2. BB has 'their thoughts just kept ahead of the deeds and blind words of the tribes'. FX reads *kuz* 'pleasant' for *k u zuy* 'have trouble with'.

6985. BB has *bac chuvi vach*.

6988. A line must be missing here, possibly the one I have supplied.

6990. It seems likely that it was part of the ruse of pretending to come for worship that the Tribes were not

wearing armor—which would have dealt effectively with wasps.

6991. Previous translations make this a question: 'who will go and get . . .' etc.

6995. The MS has *tioma*.

6996-7. BB and SJ have *huchu he tak*; BX read *buch'a he tak*.

They fell down the mountain
 And they were no longer conscious.
 Then they were poisoned with spears,
 They were hacked with axes.
 Just logs of wood
 They threw on them in turn, 7010
 Jaguar Quiche
 And Jaguar Night.
 Even their wives
 Were warriors.
 And they just returned to being Guardians of Fish
 again,
 And the Tribes just took to their heels.
 What many of them attained
 Was just to end being slaughtered later.
 Not just a few people died,
 And if one didn't die 7020
 Whom they were trying to attack,
 Then the insects just caught up with him.
 There was no more manliness
 They could perform.
 No spears
 And no shields did they carry.
 Then all the Tribes were defeated,

7007. BB, SJ, and VC have *cac* for *qiyag*; *qiyah* is 'to poison'.

7013. BB and SJ have *xoc* for *xa'e*.

7015. FX and BB have 'and half of them'.

7026. The story of this fight is somewhat different in the Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan:

And when our fathers learned of it,
 They went to consult the spirits, who replied,
 "Make twelve wooden dummies
 Dressed up with bows
 And arrows
 And everything you took from the enemy last
 time.
 And when that is done,
 Have them set up on some little rises,
 In order,
 As though about to attack.
 You will take four great jars,
 And fill them,
 One with big wasps,
 Another with little wasps,
 Another with serpents,
 And the other with beetles,
 And in between each four dummies
 You will put one jar."
 They took advantage of these suggestions
 Because in relation to the thirteen peoples of
 the Seven Tribes
 The lineage headed by Jaguar Quiche,
 Jaguar Night,
 And Nought,
 Had few people.
 The peoples,

X e qahik ch u vach huyub.
 Are q'ut ma vi ka ki na chik.
 Ta x e qiyag chi ch'ab.*
 X e ch'oy chi 'ikah.
 Xa bolah chee
 X ki koh chik 7010
 Balam Kitzc,
 Balam Aqab.
 Xa 'e k ixoqil,*
 E kamizanel.
 Xa vi q'u x e tzalih ri Chah Kar chik.*

 Xa x el chik chi k aqan r onohel amaq'.
 Are ki riq k'i
 Nabe x e 'utzinik x e kamizaxik.
 Ma na xa zkakin chi vinaq x kamik.
 Ma vi 'are x kam vi 7020
 Ri x ki tz'ayih chi ki k'ux,
 Xa q'u chikop x ok chi k e.
 Ma na q'u la 'achihilal tah
 X ki bano.
 Ma vi ch'ab,
 Ma vi pokob tah x e kam vi.*
 Ta x e yoq'otahik r onohel amaq'.*

Relying on numbers,
 Decided to attack
 And kill our fathers.
 But since the latter were well warned,
 They used their enchantments,
 Making clouds,
 Thunder,
 Lightning,
 Hail,
 Earthquakes,
 And other things to go with the dummies.
 Nevertheless, the enemies attacked.
 But since our people had placed the dummies
 in battle order,
 The enemies shot at them
 Until they got tired.
 Then the ladies,
 The wives of Jaguar Quiche,
 Jaguar Night,
 And Nought,
 Uncovered the jars of serpents
 And wasps,
 Which, spreading out over the enemies,
 Made some flee, throwing away their arms,
 And others die,
 Whom our people finished stripping.
 Thus it was that that war ended,
 And our ancestors have been famous from
 that time
 As extraordinary men
 And brave.

(lines 279-332)

7027. FX reads *yakah* 'get up' for *yag'oh* 'trample'.

The Fourth Creation

And the Tribes just bowed down again
Before them:
Jaguar Quiche,
Jaguar Night
And Nought.
"Have pity on our face.
Don't kill us,"
They said.
"Very well.
Indeed you might have been the dead.
You will be servants
On the road of day,
On the road of light," they were told.
And thus was the defeat
Of all the Tribes
By our first mothers
And fathers.
There it was done on top of the mountain
Called Fire Peak today.
So later they prospered
There.
They grew;
They multiplied.
They had daughters,
They had sons on top of Fire Peak.
They rejoiced again
That they had won.
All the Tribes there had been defeated
On top of the mountain.
And thus they did it
They had beaten
The Tribes,
All the Tribes.
And so then their hearts settled.
They told their sons
That the time was approaching
For them to die,
Since they very much wanted to be killed.
So next we shall recount the death
Of Jaguar Quiche,
Jaguar Night,
Nought
And Wind Jaguar as they are called.

LXVIII

For they knew about their death,
Their loss,

7028. Omitted by FX.

7047. FX consistently reads *tikih* 'plant' for *tiqeh*

Xa q'u x e 'elah chik ri 'amaq' *
Chi ki vach
7030 Ri Balam Kitze, 7030
Balam Aqab,
Mahuq'utah.
"Toq'ob qa vach.
Ma ta k oh kamik,"
X e ch'a.
"Utz ba la,
Xax ix vi kamel ch uxik,
Ix ah patan
Chi be q'ih,
7040 Chi be zaq," x e 'uch'axik. 7040
Kehe q'ut u ch'akatahik
R onohel amaq' ri
K umal qa nabe chuch,
Qahav.
Chiri x ban vi ch u vi huyub,
Haka Vitz u biinam vakamik.
Are nabe x e tiqe vi *
Chiri.
X e poq' vi;
7050 X e k'iyaritah vi.* 7050
X e mialanik;
X e q'aholanik ch u vi Haka Vitz.
K e kikot chik ta
X ki ch'ako.
R onohel amaq' chiri,
Ch'akatahinak vi ch u vi huyub.
Kehe q'ut x ki ban ri.
X ki ch'ak na
Amaq',
7060 R onohel amaq'. 7060
Kate q'ut x kube ki k'ux.
X e tzihon chi r e ki q'ahol
X naqah ok
K e kam ok.
Ta k'i x e r ah kamizaxik.
Are chik vi x chi qa biih chik ki kamik
Balam Kitze,
Balam Aqab,
Mahuq'utah,
7070 Iq'i Balam ki bi. 7070

LXVIII

X ki na q'ut ki kamik,
Ki zachik

'prosper'.

7050. The MS has *quiritah*.

So they bade farewell
 To their sons.
 They were not sick
 And they did not slip.
 They just expired,
 Leaving their word for their sons.
 These are the names of their sons here:
 There were two engendered by Jaguar 7080
 Quiche.
 Chief Two was the name of the firstborn.
 Chief Kinsmen in turn was the name of the second
 born,
 The sons
 Of Jaguar Quiche,
 The grandfather
 And father of the Kaveks.
 And then again there were two more engendered
 by Jaguar Night.
 These are their names here:

7081. *Qo* is an honorific prefix to the names of important lords, usually combining with what appear to be the names of lineages or sublineages. It has never been translated and its meaning is uncertain. The MS usually has it *go*. The principal etymological possibilities are (1) *q'o* 'is, exists, is located', (2) *q'ov* 'strong', (3) *q'o* '400', and (4) *koh* 'worship' (a *kohikal* 'your honor' is an honorific for the deity in modern Quiche.) I have settled on 'Chief' as conveying the honorific quality and combining easily with the other translatable names. *Kaib* is clearly 'two' and the possible alternative construals are unattractive. *Qavib* is probably the plural of *qav* 'kinsman, ancestor'.

7082. The Origin of the Lords of Zapotitlan says:
 Jaguar Quiche,
 The older brother, had two sons,
 One named Chief Koha
 And the other named Chief Rohon Amaq'.
 These two sons of Jaguar Quiche
 Were the first to discover the province of
 Canebrake,
 And they explored it
 And conquered it.
 Chief Koha engendered Tooth.
 He ruled for his father, called Chief Koha,
 And it was he who conquered the land of Rabinal
 And its vicinity.
 Chief Rohon Amaq'
 The second son of Jaguar Quiche
 And brother of Chief Koha,
 Engendered Bird.
 This Bird and Tooth
 Were equal in command,
 And they fought at night
 And went at night to kill enemy people,
 Whom they found scattered
 And unprepared;
 To make themselves feared taking on the appear-

Ta x e pixabik
 Chi r ech ki q'ahol.
 Ma na 'e ta yab,
 Ma pu k e hilovik.
 K e polov tah,
 Ta x kanah ki tzih chi r e ki q'ahol.
 Are ki bi ki q'ahol va,
 E kaib x u q'aholah Balam Kitze. 7080

Qo Kaib u bi nabeyal;*
 Qo Kavib chik u bi 'u kaabal,*

U q'ahol
 Balam Kitze,
 U mam,
 U qahav Qavekib.*
 E chiri q'u kaib chik x u q'aholah Balam Aqab.

Are ki bi va:

ance of men
 By the sight of the devil,
 Jaguars,
 And panthers,
 And they flew through the air at night,
 Spouting fire from their mouths,
 And from this they did great damage so that they
 became afraid of them
 And the whole land of Rabinal was subjected.
 And they gave them to understand that they were
 the sons of Former and Shaper,
 Which is like saying they were the sons of
 the creator of all things.
 Tooth, the rightful king through the older
 brother,
 Engendered Corn.
 He too was a sorcerer,
 And did what his ancestors had done.
 Bird engendered Leg,
 And they were equal in command,
 As between two first cousins,
 And they were great sorcerers.
 Corn,
 The rightful lord,
 Engendered Chief Two
 And Chief Kaibim.

(lines 9-52)

The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan agrees with this genealogy:

Jaguar Quiche engendered Chief Tzaha
 And Chief Raxon Amak.
 Chief Tzaha engendered Bird.
 He engendered Corn Snake,
 Who engendered Chief Two
 And Chief Kinsmen.

(lines 601-6)

7086. This is the one point at which the MS has *qahav* rather than *cahav*. The MS also has *cauquib*.

The Fourth Creation

Chief Acul was the name of his first son;

Chief Acutec was the second son

Of Jaguar Night

Of the Great-Houses.

And Nought engendered only one.

Chief Lord was his name.

The three of them engendered sons.

There was no son of Wind Jaguar.

Truly they were sacrificers

And worshippers,

And these are the names of their sons.

There they took their leave formerly.

They were all one,

The four divisions.

They sorrowed,

Their hearts were oppressed.

They wept in their hearts

And in their singing.

"It Is Hidden" was the name of their song.

They sang it.

When they then took leave of their sons:

"Oh our sons,

We are going,

But we shall return.

Bright words,

Bright commands are our farewell to you."

"And you have come

Very far into the mountains,

Oh our wives,"

They said

To their wives,

Each of them,

Taking leave of them.

"We are going to our city.

It is already the turn of our Lord Deer

Reflected in the sky.

It is only the return

We must make.

Our office is accomplished.

Our sun is complete

And you know us.

7090

7100

7110

7120

Qo Acul u bi u nabe u q'ahol;*

Qo Acutec ch u ch'ax chik u kaab u q'ahol 7090

Balam Aqab

R ech Ni Hayibab.

Xa q'u hun x u q'aholah Mahuq'utah.

Qo Ahav u bi.*

E 'oxib x e q'aholanik.

Ma ha bi 'u q'ahol ri 'Iq'i Balam.

Qitzih ah q'ixib,

Ah k'ahib.

Are q'ut ki bi ki q'ahol ri.

Are x ki pixabah kan ok.*

Xa hun e q'o vi

Ki kah ichal.

X e bixanik.

Chi q'atat ki k'ux.

Ch oq' pu ki k'ux *

Ch u pam ki bixik.*

"Ka Muqu" u bi ki bix,*

X ki bixah.

Ta x e pixab q'ut chi r e ki q'ahol:

"Ix qa q'ahol,*

K oh beek,

K oh tzalih puch.*

Zaqil tzih,*

Zaqil pixab qa pixab ch iv e."

"Mi q'u x ix ul

Q'a ka naht chi huyubal,

Ix q ixoqil,"

X e ch'a

Chi r e k ixoqil,

Chi ki huhunal,

X e pixabik.

"K oh be chi q amaq'.

Cholan chik q Ahaval Keh *

Leman chi kah.

Xa tzalihem

X chi qa bano.

Mi x banatahik qa patan.

Mi x tz'aqat qa q'ih.

K oh i na q'ut.

7100

7110

7120

7089-90. *Qo Acul* may be from Nahuatl *atl* 'water' and *coloa* 'twist'. *Qo Acutec* might be *atl* plus *coltic* 'twisted'. BB locates a town *ch u vi Acutec* between Malacatan and Huehuetenango (pp. 342-3). See note to line 5105. The text says 'was called' but it is hard to make the poetry come out in English and include a verb.

7094. FX has *haan* for *ahav* throughout this section.

7100. BX have *pixabeh*.

7105. BX have *pa* for *pu*.

7106. The MS has *pan* for *pam*.

7107. The MS has *camacu* here.

7110. The constant refrain of the Annals of the Cakchiquels, *ix nu q'ahol* 'ye my sons', implies that this is an ancient formula.

7112. FX inserts a negative.

7113. Written, perhaps? See line 50.

7123. Obviously a reference to the date in some large cycle.

You will not forget us,
 And you will not dump us out.
 Now look for
 Your home
 And your mountain
 And you will prosper.
 So be it.
 Go now.
 Come back
 And look again
 And we shall come,"
 Their word
 Said then.
 So they took their leave
 And there remained behind
 The sign,
 The essence of Jaguar Quiche.
 "This is your talisman for me,
 Which I will leave with you.
 It is your glory,
 This, here.
 I say farewell
 And grieve,"
 He said then
 As he left
 His sign,
 His essence,
 The Shrouded Glory
 As it is called.
 Its face is not clear.
 He wrapped and shrouded it.
 It is never unwrapped.
 The sewing on it is not clear
 Because it can't be seen,
 It is so shrouded.
 And thus they took their leave
 And then they were gone

7132. BX have *ila* for *il*.

7147. Literally, 'knocker': means of summoning. Mayan doorbells are called this in Quiche (cf. Tozzer, 1941, p. 86).

7148. BX have *i* for *in*.

7157. Certain passages in Bunzel's texts (1952, pp. 126, 138) imply that personal "sacred bundles" are still kept in Chichicastenango and are used on solemn but personal ritual occasions. It is not clear whether these were always divining bundles.

7162. BB and SJ have *tzizbal*.

7166. The disappearance of the ancestors is described as follows in the Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan:

And when the day star returned
 They gave thanks.

7130 M oh i zacho.
 Moh i mez kutah puch.
 Ch iv il na *
 'Iv ochoch,
 I huyubal puch
 K ix tique vi.
 Ta ch ux ok.
 K ix be q'ut.
 Ch i be
 Iv ila chik
 7140 X oh pe vi,"
 X ch'a q'u
 Ki tzih.
 Ta x e pixabik,
 Ta x kanah q'ut
 R etal,
 U q'oheyik ri Balam Kitze.
 "Are 'i tanabal v ech.*
 Va x ch in kanah iv uq.*
 Are 'i q'aq'al.
 7150 Vae.
 Mi x nu pixabah.
 X nu bizoh,"
 X ch'a q'ut
 Ta x u kanah
 Ri r etal,
 U q'oheyik.
 Pizom Q'aq'al *
 Ch uch'axik.
 Ma vi q'alah u vach;
 7160 X u viqi pizilik.
 X ma vi kiron vi.
 Ma vi q'alah t'izobal r e *
 R umal ma hi x ilovik
 Ta x pizik.
 Kehe q'ut ki pixabik ri
 Ta x e zach q'ut *

The lords went to their gods

And taking out incense of distinctive odor

They offered it

Saying,

"Twice,

And three times

We thank you, creators of everything around us,

We thank you because we have seen the sun
 again

And we hope to see it many times more,

Together with the stars,

And you,

Our old homeland,

Tula,

Zuyua,

Where our brothers are,

Receive our vows."

The Fourth Creation

There
On top of Fire Peak mountain.
They were no longer seen by their wives
And children.
Their disappearance is not clear
When they disappeared,
Although their farewell is quite clear.
And the Shroud became sacred to them.
It was the commemoration of their father.
So at once they burned offerings
Before their commemoration
Of their father.
That was when there began
(The sacrifice of) people for the lords.
So they died
Beginning in honor of Jaguar Quiche,

So they spoke,
Burning the incense,
And the smoke first went straight up,
Proving that it was agreeable to the great god,
And then inclined toward the sun,
Which was a sign
That those offerings
And those vows,
Born in the secret parts of the heart,
Had reached the presence
Of our father,
Nacxit.
Having fulfilled these obligations, they wor-
shipped
And then called the people together.
Speaking for the others,
Jaguar Quiche said,
"Until now, we have fulfilled our duty,
All for your good.
We leave you full of honors,
Free of enemies,
Tried in valor,
And known for your superiority.
They will always fear you.
Preserve the precious gift
Given us by our father,
Nacxit,
Because we have (not) yet found the place
In which we must settle.
Engender sons
Worthy of the titles
Of Counsellor,
Step House Counsellor,
Captain,
Knight.
Make sons full of glory
And majesty
From what has been given us by our father,
Nacxit.
Care for your mothers.
We who have been til now
Your lords
And rulers
Are mortal.
Soon we shall disappear."

Chiri
Ch u vi huyub Haka Vitz.
Ma na x e muq tah r umal k ixoqil,
K alquval.
Ma vi q'alah ki zachik,
Ta x e zachik.
Xere q'alah ri ki pixabik.
Loq q'u ri Pizom chi k ech x uxik.
Are nababal r ech ki qahav.
Xa hu zuq x e k'aton *
Ch u vach ki nababal
R ech ki qahav.*
Are ta x vinaqir vi
Vinaq k umal ahavab
Ta x e kam
Chi r ih Balam Kitze tikarinak vi *

Thus spoke
Jaguar Quiche.
And having passed that day well
And retired well,
When dawn came they were no longer there.
They disappeared without anyone's knowing
how.
But do not take fright
At hearing this,
For the sons of Jaguar Quiche,
Jaguar Night,
And Nought
Took the names of their fathers.
Without knowing how,
They found themselves with all their children
On the mountains
Where the gods were.
And from this miracle
From that time they named those mountains:
The Illumination of Storm
Was one;
The Illumination of Lord Jaguar
Was another;
And the Illumination of Fire Peak
Was the other.

(lines 650-734)

7176. FX reads *q'atoh* 'cut' for *k'atoh* 'burn'.

7178. Thousands of small stone and pottery figurines have been found in highland Guatemala. They are usually called *camahuiles* (*kabavil* 'deity') or *alaxik* 'birth-stones', and date to as early as the 6th century A.D. (Wauchope, 1948, pp. 162-3). They are crudely made and conventionalized, and do not suggest differentiated divinities. It is my guess that they were conceived as ancestral commemorations as is suggested by the allusion in this passage. The modern Indians have been known to carry them as charms in their shoulder bags or to set them up in their homes and pray to them as icons, though both customs are now rare.

7182. BX have *tikirinak*. BB translates 'so it was that men multiplied because of the princes, since the latter received (the power of the kidneys of Jaguar Quiche)' [*sic!*].

The grandfather
 And father of the Kaveks
 Who sinned then
 And was forgiven by his sons,
 Who were Chief Two
 And Chief Kinsmen by name.
 And thus they died
 Who were the four divisions.
 They were our first grandfathers,
 Our fathers.
 Then they were gone,
 While their sons still remained
 There
 On top of Fire Peak mountain.
 Their sons still tarried
 There.
 And still fallen
 And scorned
 Were the days of all the Tribes.
 They no longer had their glory.
 They were still crushed.
 So they collected themselves every day
 To commemorate their father.
 Great was the day of the Shroud for them.
 But they didn't untie it.
 It was just wrapped up there with them.
 "Shrouded Glory" they called it
 When it was named,
 And it was named their Secret,
 Given formerly by their father.
 It was just the sign really
 Of their essence when they did it.
 And thus was the loss
 And destruction
 Of Jaguar Quiche,
 Jaguar Night,
 Nought
 And Wind Jaguar.
 They were the first men
 To come from there
 Across the sea
 From the sunrise.
 Long ago then they came here.
 When they died they were already old,
 And sacrificers
 And worshippers they were called.

7184. The MS has *cauquib*.

7185-6. BB has 'his sons did not disappear at all'. The couplet has the sound of a proverbial phrase.

U mam,
 U qahav Qavekib.*
 X maku vi q'ut *
 X ki zach vi ri 'u q'ahol,
 Ri Qo Kaib,
 Qo Kavib ki bi.
 Kehe q'ut ki kamik
 Ri ki kah ichal,
 E nabe qa mam,
 Qa qahav.
 Ta x e zachik,
 Ta x kanah chik ki q'ahol
 Chiri
 Ch u vi huyub Haka Vitz.
 X e yaluh chi vi ki q'ahol
 Chiri.
 Qahinak chik,
 Yoq'otahinak chi puch
 Ki q'ih k onohel amaq'.
 Ma ha bi chik ki q'aq'al.
 Xaq'i 'e q'o chik
 Xa vi k u qam k ib k onohel hu tak q'ih
 Chi ki nabah ki qahav.
 Nim u q'ih ri Pizom chi k e.
 Ma vi chi ki kiro.
 Xa vi pizilik chiri k uq.
 "Pizom Q'aq'al" ch uch'axik k umal.
 Ta x q'ohik.*
 X biinah puch ki Q'uun.
 X ya kan ok r umal ki qahav.
 Xa r etal k'i,
 Ki q'oheyik ta x ki bano.*
 Kehe q'u ki zachik,
 Ki mayixik
 Balam Kitze,
 Balam Aqab,
 Mahuq'utah,
 Iq'i Balam,
 E nabe vinaq
 X e pe chila,
 Ch aqa palo
 Chi r elebal q'ih.
 Oher ok k e 'ul varal.
 Ta x e kamik e rih chik,
 E 'ah q'ixib,
 Ah k'ahib ki biinam.

7210. BB and SJ have *qobik*.

7214. BB omits *ki*.

LXIX

And so afterwards when they remembered
 Their suffering
 There
 At the sunrise
 Then they remembered about
 The commandments of their fathers.
 They did not forget what formerly
 Their fathers had brought over.
 The Tribes gave them their wives
 And they became in-laws.
 Then the three of them captured wives.
 And then they said as they left,
 "We are going there to the sunrise,
 Whence our fathers came,"
 So they spoke as they took their road.
 There were three honored sons.
 Chief Two
 Was the name of one,
 Son of Jaguar Quiche
 Of all the Kaveks.
 Chief Acutec
 Was the name
 Of the son of Jaguar Night
 Only of the Great-Houses.
 Chief Lord
 Was the name of the other,
 Son of Nought
 Of the Lord Quiche.
 And these are the names
 Of those who went there across the sea.

7230. BB reads *ki bik* '(of) their going'; I read *bikoh* 'suffer'.

7244. They had not inherited their fathers' titles as Sacrificers and Worshippers so it was necessary for them to acquire titles of their own from a proper authority. They received the titles Counsellor and Step House Counsellor (lines 7291-2).

7248. The MS has *coaviquib*.

7258. The Origin of the Lords of Zapotitlan has a divergent account of Chief Two:

Corn,
 The rightful lord,
 Engendered Chief Two
 And Chief Kaibim.
 Chief Two was the one who inherited the kingdom from his father
 And was the first to form the state.
 This Chief Two thus subjected eleven lords of his predecessors
 And was the first to form a people.
 And he made a royal palace
 And a fort in Rabinal.

LXIX

Kate puch ta x ki k'uxilal
 Ki bik*
 Chila
 R elebal q'ih.
 Are ki k'uxilan ri
 U pixab ki qahav.
 Ma vi x ki zachox oher ok
 K e qam ok ki qahav.
 X ya k ixoqil amaq'.
 X ki hi'ah.
 Ta x e choqo 'ixoq e 'oxib.
 X e ch'a q'ut ta x e beek:
 "K oh be chila r elebal q'ih.
 Chila x e pe vi qa qahav,"
 X e ch'a ta x ki qam ki be
 E 'oxib chi q'aholaxel.*
 Qo Kaib
 U bi hun,
 U q'ahol Balam Kitze,
 R ech r onohel Qavekib.*
 Qo Acutec
 U bi
 Q'ahol Balam Aqab
 Xa r ech Ni-Hayibab.
 Qo 'Ahav
 U bi hun chik
 U q'ahol Mahuq'utah
 R ech Ahav K'iche.
 Are q'u ki bi
 Ri x e be chila ch aqa palo.*

He was the first who gave assent
 And created a Captain,
 And he created Governors
 And Captains,
 And divided them out
 As heads of lineages.
 He was the first to make laws
 And privileges,
 And it was he who made them pay tribute,
 Each one from what he had and what there was,
 And he who had nothing from which to pay tribute
 Served with his person or the things which were suitable.
 This Chief Two
 Made his brother Chief Kaibim,
 General of his land,
 Which is called Counsellor,
 And he thus made him equal
 Even though he didn't acknowledge his seniority.
 He instituted
 And named

There were three
 As they went,
 But they had their wisdom
 And they had their understanding.
 They were not just as ordinary men in essence.
 They had already taken leave
 Of all their older brothers,
 And younger brothers.
 They rejoiced
 To be going.
 "We won't die;
 We'll come back,"
 They said
 As the three of them left.
 Actually they crossed over the sea,
 And then they arrived there at the sunrise.
 They went to receive the lordship.
 And this is the name of the lord there,
 The ruler
 Of the people at the sunrise.
 They arrived then.

LXX

And when they arrived
 Before the lord,
 Nacxit was the name of the great lord,
 The sole judge
 Of a huge jurisdiction.
 And it was he who gave out the signs of authority,
 All the insignia.

Nine Captains
 Or Governors
 To govern the town,
 And they attended him.
 And no one governing could be a boy—
 Until he was of age
 And was energetic
 And held to be able,
 And thus one did not govern even the closest of
 his house
 And kindred until he was of age.
 This Chief Kaibim,
 The second brother,
 Because of his brother's absence,
 Since he was away from home,
 Had a son by his sister-in-law,
 And then his brother Chief Two returned
 And saw the trouble he had created by his law
 Before he went to hang himself.
 And the son who was in his sister-in-law,
 One of his grandmothers hid him.
 When he was of age, his uncle
 And stepfather
 Gave him the post of his father,
 Which was to be one of the Counsellors.

E 'oxib
 7260 Ta x e beek.
 Xa vi q'o ki naoh,
 Q'o pu k etamabal.
 Ma na xa 'e ta vinaq ki q'oheyik.*
 X ki pixabah kan ok
 R onohel k atz,
 Ki ch'ak'.
 K e kikitik
 X e beek.
 "Ma vi k oh kamik,*
 7270 K oh ulik,"
 X e ch'a *
 Ta x e beek e 'oxib.
 Xa vi xere x e 'iq'ovik ch u vi palo *
 Ta x e 'opon q'ut chila r elebal q'ih.
 Ta x be ki qama ri 'ahavarem.
 Are q'ut u bi 'ahav va,*
 R ahaval
 Ah r elebal q'ih.*
 X e 'opon vi.

LXX

7280 Ta x e 'opon q'ut
 Ch u vach ahav.
 Nacxit u bi nima 'ahav.*
 Xa hu q'atol tzih
 Tzatz r ahavarem.
 Are q'ut x ya 'ulok r etal ahavarem,
 R onohel u vachinel.

So that this Chief Two kept the kingdom
 Without anyone else being king or governing.
 (lines 49-104)

7263. BB and SJ have *xa 'et* for *xa 'e ta*.

7269. SJ has *q'alibah*.

7271. SJ has *x e ch'a (ta)*.

7273. BX omit *xa vi*.

7276. The MS has *cu* for *q'ut*.

7278. Several commentators try to twist Central American geography to put the Peten east (or in other contexts west) rather than north of the highlands. BB sensibly mentions here the direction of Livingstone and Honduras. It seems strange that no one has proposed Kaminaljuyu.

7282. *Nacxit* occurs also in Aztec legends. Apparently the name comes from *na(hui)* 'four' and *ixitl* 'leg'. WC has 'he who stands on the four world corners', which is fanciful. GR translates 'gemstones' and BB says it is the Pokomam for 'precious stone'. If so, it must be a Nahuatl loan word in Pokomam. *Nacxitl* is one of the names of Quetzalcoatl in the *Cantares Mexicanos*. Wauchope (1948, p. 39) finds grounds for placing the visit to Nacxit around 1383.

The Fourth Creation

Then came the sign of the Counsellor
And Step House Counsellor.
And then came the sign of the power
And authority
Of Counsellor
And Step House Counsellor.
In the end Nacxit gave out
The insignia of lordship.
These are the names of them: Canopy,

7290

Ta x petik r etal ah popol,*
Ah pop qam hayil.
Ta x pe q'ut r etal u q'aq'al,*
R ahavarem puch:
Ah Pop,
Ah Pop Qam Haa.
X k'iz u ya 'ulok Nacxit
U vachinel r ahavarem.
Are tak u bi va; muh,*

7290

7287. *Ah Pop* 'he of the mat' was the title of the Quiche "king." The verb *popoh* 'counsel' is derived from the same root. The title of the second lord is problematic. It could be *qam* 'collect' or *kam* 'die'. I read it as *q'am* 'stairs'. The final element could be *ha* 'water' or *haa* 'house'. I think *q'am haa* 'step house' is the word for 'pyramid'.

7289. BX have *q'u* for *q'ut*.

7295-7312. By general agreement this is the most difficult passage in the Popol Vuh and no previous translation has been able to make much out of it. The poetic scansion is anchored in the pairs *muh(ibal)-q'alibal* (commonly paired in other Quiche documents); *tatil-q'an abah*; *tziqovil koh-tziqovil balam*; *q'uzuh* 'bend' *buzuh* 'bend'; *kax* 'stuff-onoh' 'fill'; and *chiyom-aztapulul*. The text then falls into the reading I have given it more or less naturally, invalidating many of the proposed interpretations of the signs of kingship.

FX says (pp. 123-4): "The seat of the king was notable because it had a canopy of brilliant feathers, and on the cover other layers of various colors so that it represented great majesty. The prince who was to succeed him had three layers and the other brothers two. . . . The king of Guatemala or Utatlan did not differ from the others in dress except that he had his ears and nose pierced, which was considered grandeur." The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan confirms that the Ah Pop had a four-tiered canopy, the Ah Pop Q'am Haa three, and the Nim Ch'okoh of the Kavek two.

Encouraged by FX I read *tzam baq* 'nose bone' for the *zabac* of the MS. The usual reading is 'flute'. It is of course not clear whether it was the septum or the nasal flange which was pierced (see Tozzer, 1941, p. 126).

I derive *cham cham* from Nahuatl *cham-puchitli* 'earring'. It cannot be *chirimia*, as has been suggested, since that instrument is probably of European origin (Mc Nett, 1960). 'Drum' has also been proposed. I think this is the Aztec *nacochtli* 'royal earrings'.

I read *tentel* 'jade labret' for *tatil* (FX says 'jade'), which is confirmed by *q'an abah* 'yellow stone' in the following line. BB suggests that these are pigments for body painting. I think they are the Aztec *cozcapetlatl* 'royal gold necklace'. Tozzer (1941, p. 113) notes that labrets are rare in Yucatan but do occur.

Tziqovil koh, *tziqovil balam* is perfectly clear Quiche but often the phrases have been broken up and the point has been missed. BB reads in *tziqah* 'exhale' and suggests 'perfume'.

Holom pich, *keh* makes a strange couplet but it sounds plausible.

Macutax is the Nahuatl *macuetlaxtli* 'a certain bracelet'. It appears to be the Quiche equivalent of the Aztec *matemecatl* 'royal armband'.

T'ot' tatam is a snail shell (*t'ot'* 'rustle, swish'). It probably corresponds to the Aztec *matzopeztli* 'royal bracelet'.

Q'uz and *buz* are perfectly clear and presumably refer to the deference due a Quiche lord, already attested in line 4337 ff. The MS has *quz*. These particular verbs are new in this connection. Perhaps the gesture was distinctive. BB has a pinecone ornament and a trumpet here.

Kax e 'filled teeth' have been mentioned before in line 1111 ff. *On* is from *onoh* 'fill'. BB reads *caxcon*; FX *caxcom*.

Chiyom (FX has *chiyon*) is 'parrot feather' in Cakchi quel, according to AR, and the Nahuatl *aztapololli* 'royal crane' is clearly recognizable. I think this is the Aztec *cuachictli* 'royal panache'.

The identification of the Aztec royal insignia is drawn from Clavijero (1964, p. 223), whose description so astonishingly parallels this one that it must be quoted:

"When the king went out on campaign he wore besides arms his personal insignia: on his feet certain half boots of thin gold plates and other thin platelets of the same metal on his arms, on his wrists certain bracelets of precious stones, in his lower lip an emerald encrusted with gold and certain rings of similar stones in his ears, on his neck a chain of gold and stone pieces and a crest of eye-catching feathers on his head; but the insigne most characteristic of his rank was a precious strand (*tejido*) of beautiful feathers which fell from his head down his back to the waist. (All these royal insignia had their special names. They called the boots *cozehuatl*, the armbands *matemecatl*, the bracelets *matzopeztli*, the lip emerald *tentel*, the pendants *nacochtli*, the chain *cozcapetlatl* and the main insignia at the back *cuachictli*.)"

It appears that these were not all of the prerogatives of kingship. The Quiche History fills in:

And there again they chose twenty two heads of family
And twenty two masons,
But it was just their sons they chose;
Not anyone else.
And it was just the grandsons of Chief Pichoch
And Chief Choh Lan
Who were grandfathers
And elders

And Throne,
Nose Bone
And Earring,
Jade Labret,
And Gold Beads,
Panther Claws
And Jaguar Claws,
Owl Skull
And Deer,
Armband of Precious Stones
And Snail Shell Bracelet,
Bowing
And Bending,
Filled Teeth
And Inlay,
Parrot Feather Crest,
And Royal Crane Panache.
And so they took them all and came away;
Then they brought back across the sea
The Tula scripture,
The Scripture.
They told about their going in it,
In their words.

LXXI

And so then they came back here
Up to their town called Fire Peak,

And were just given the holy plank,
The holy platform,
And were just given the two *bum*
Totally scattered,
The bath bowl,
The bath trough,
Very hot water,
Very cold shower.
They gave to the masons
And heads of families
The drink,
Smoking.
Panther bones,
Jaguar bones
Were given to them
When they were chosen.
.
So they had gone back again
And returned once more.
They went
To get
The jade labret
And gold beads held for them.
They didn't have their panther claws
Or jaguar claws,
The signs of government which the throne
And the shrine are now.
Then Rising Eagle
And Rising White was the name for them.
But they didn't have the names

Q'alibal,
Za baq,
Cham cham,
Tatil,
7300 Q'an abah, 7300
Tzikovil koh,
Tzikovil balam,
Holom pich,
Keh,
Macutax,
T'ot' tatam,
Q'uz,
Buz,
Kax'e,
7310 On, 7310
Chiyom,
Aztapulul.
R onohel q'u k e qam ri x e petik
Ta x ki qam ula ri ch aqa palo *
U tz'ibal Tulan,
U tz'ibal.
X e ch'a chi r e k okinak ch u pam *
Ch u pam ki tzih.*

LXXI

Kate puch ta x e 'ulik chiri
7320 Ch u vi ki tinamit Haka Vitz u bi. 7320

Of the lordships today.
So then they had gone back again
And they went to get the signs
At the mud houses,
The tall houses
Which are limed,
Which are plastered now.
Then came also
Big drums and jade
And rattle ornaments and gems
And shields and silver,
The things of our shrines,
Our thrones.

.
And placed over the heads of the Captain
And Counsellor
The panther claws,
The jaguar claws,
Which are called
The signs of lordship.

(lines 379-402, 459-84, 971-6)

The survival of special clothing for different ranks in 20th-century Chichicastenango and Totonicapán is suggested by Bunzel (1952, pp. 63, 193).

7314. BX have *ka* for *qam*.

7317. FX reads *okikan* 'enough' for *okinak* 'entry'.

7318. SJ has *ch u pan* (*ch u pan*); the MS has *pan* for *pam*.

The Fourth Creation

And there all the Branches gathered,
The Seers assembled.
All the tribes rejoiced
At the return of Chief Two,
Chief Acutec
And Chief Lord.
Only back there
Did they take the lordship of the Tribes.
There rejoiced
The Rabinals,
The Fire Trees,
The Bird House People,
Just that the signs were shown

7330

Chiri q'ut x e kuch vi r onohel Tamub,
Ilokab x e kuchu k ib.
R onohel amaq' x e kikitik
Ta x e 'ulik Qo Kaib,
Qo Acutec,
Qo Ahav.*
Xa vi chiri chik
X ki qam vi k ahavarem amaq'.
X e kikitik
E Rabinaleb,
E Q'aq' Chekeleb,
Ah Tz'ikina Haa.
Xa r etal x k'utun

7330

7326. The Lineage of the Lords of Totonacapan has a parallel account of the visit to Nacxit:

Having conquered the enemies
And won peace,
Jaguar Quiche said,
"It is time to send ambassadors
To our father,
And lord, Nacxit,
So that he will know the state of our affairs
And give us means so that in the future
Our enemies will not conquer us
And will not demean the nobility of our
birth.
So that he will design honors for us
And for all our descendants,
And lastly send titles
For those who deserve them.
When this decision was approved by the other
chiefs,
They tried to elect persons
Worthy of such a mission,
And by a plurality of votes there were elected
Chief Two
And Chief Kinsmen,
Both sons of Jaguar Quiche.
And when they had received their instruc-
tions,
Chief Two went towards the east
And Chief Kinsmen went towards the west.
Chief Two followed his road,
Overcoming dangers and completing his
mission,
Chief Kinsmen ran into difficulties on the banks
of the lake of Mexico
And returned without doing anything.
Later in a weak moment he seduced his sister-in-
law,
The wife of Chief Two.
Under these circumstances there arrived at Fire
Peak Chipal
The news that Chief Two was approaching,
Loaded with titles
And honors.
The news depressed Chief Kinsmen,
Who said,
"It would be better if I had gone and hung myself
On the road coming back
So that when the lord Chief Two returns

We would not have to know the conse-
quences of what I have done."
Chief Two returned
And reported on his mission.
He brought the titles Counsellor,
Mason,
Lineage Head,
And many others.
He showed the signs
Which should distinguish the ranks,
And they were claws of jaguars
And eagles,
Skins of other animals
And also stones,
Staffs,
Et cetera.
The chiefs congratulated Chief Two
And accompanied him to his house.
When he saw the baby born in his absence
He said to his wife,
"Whose is this baby?
Where did it come from?"
"It is of thy blood,"
Replied the woman,
"Of thy flesh
And of thine own bone."
"If that is so, I am far from hating it.
I shall rather cover it with honors."
And Chief Two took the child's cradle
And said,
"From now on this child will be called
Jaguar Chief Imitator."
This began
The trunk of the house
Of those of Chief Imitator
And White Life.

Bunzel (1952, p. 127) quotes from Las Casas an illuminating comment on the absence of sexual jealousy among the Quiche: "Husbands, if they believed their wives had betrayed them, and if they knew who was the adulterer, would not denounce them, but they would take a bird of the kind they used for sacrifices, and give it to the woman and her lover and tell them that they should sacrifice it at a certain temple and there confess according to their style of confession. And thus the injured one was satisfied, and they regarded as a holy person one who was content with such vengeance."

For them to see them,
 The greatness of the lordship.
 And again great was their essence.
 It was lasting.
 It did not stop
 After they had shown the lordship.
 And that was
 When they were there
 At Fire Peak.
 But with them were all those who went to the
 sunrise.
 And then for a long time they worked
 There,
 On top of the mountain.
 They were many again,
 All of them.
 And there died the wives
 Of Jaguar Quiche,
 Jaguar Night
 And Nought.
 Then they came away.
 They abandoned again
 Their mountain;
 Another mountain they sought.
 There they prospered.
 On innumerable mountains they prospered.
 Then they designated it
 And then they named it.
 There they piled up together
 And endured,

7340

7350

7360

Chi ki vach ri
 U nimal ahavarem.
 Nim chik ki q'oheyik
 Ch uxik amaq'*.
 Ma nabe x k'iz
 Ta ki k'ut k ahavarem.
 Are
 E q'o chiri
 Haka Vitz.
 Xa q'o k uq r onohel ri x pe r elebal q'ih.
 Naht chi q'ut x ki ban *
 Chiri
 Ch u vi huyub.
 E k'i chik
 Chi k onohel.
 Chiri q'ut x e kam vi k ixoqil
 Balam Kitze,
 Balam Aqab,
 Mahuq'utah.
 Ta x e petik,
 X k okotah chi kan ok
 Ri ki huyubal *
 Hun chi huyub x ki tzukuh.
 Are k e tiqe vi.*
 Ma vi 'ahilan huyub x e tiqe vi.*
 Ta x e q'obik,*
 Ta x e biinah puch
 Chiri x e molomanik,*
 X e ch'ihomanik

7340

7350

7360

7337. BB says 'of the tribes' but the scansion forces the construal I have made.

7344. FX reads 'they went a long way', which is not textual and is narratively premature.

7355. BB have *huyub*.

7357-8. FX reads 'plant' for 'prosper' as in line 7047.

7358. The MS has *ahilam*. The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan carefully numbers 22 stops on the migrations from Storm to Beard, though none of the names corresponds to any of those mentioned in the Popol Vuh.

There in those mountains they raised houses
 And stayed for some time.
 Later they all met at Storm
 And leaving there
 They came to a settlement they called Qibaki Ha
 There they stayed for some time,
 Always carrying with them the gift of Nacxit
 And suffering want.
 They abandoned that settlement
 And came to the one they called Hunger,
 Doubtless because of the famine they suffered
 For they had to strip trees to support them-
 selves there.
 They made big hamlets.

They left there and came to Two Houses
 below Broken Branches.

There they raised some buildings

And stayed for some time.

The fifth stop [omitted]

They came to the settlement of Rolled Limestone
 There they spent several days.

From Rolled Limestone to pam Bilil pan Tzokan.

There they stopped for some time,

Supporting themselves on wasp eggs

And beetles.

The eighth stop they called Tikah Chalib.

They built houses.

From Tikah Chalib they went to Tiba Tzi.

They built houses and suffered a terrible
 windstorm.

The tenth place they called 5 Jaguar;

At Yellow Earth they spent some time.

The twelfth place they called Yam Rimba.

The remaining 10 stops occur in the passage quoted in the note to line 7412.

7359-60. Omitted by FX.

7361-2. BB and SJ have *chi r e ri x e molomanik*. BB translates 'to augment and extend their power'.

The Fourth Creation

Those first mothers of ours,
 Those first fathers of ours,
 As the former people said
 When they spoke of it.
 So they deserted
 And abandoned
 Their first town
 Called Fire Peak.
 And they came on there
 And planted again
 A town
 Called Thorns.
 For a long time they made it there
 Over one division of the town.
 They had daughters
 And they had sons.
 They became many there then.
 There were four mountains there,
 But one became
 The name of its town.
 They married off their daughters.
 Their sons they just gave away,
 Just as a favor,
 And just out of respect they did it.
 The price of their daughters they received,
 But good was their existence while they did it.
 Then they passed there
 Each division in its town.
 These then
 Are their names:
 Thorns,
 Dry,
 Bark River,
 Boundary,
 Empty,
 The names of the mountains they stayed on.
 And there they divined over the mountain
 And their town,
 To receive the mountain they sought.
 And there were many more in all.
 But then it was there died
 Those who had brought the lordship from the
 sunrise.

7374. The location of *chi Q'ix* is unknown, though there is a place with that name near San Bartolome.

7375-82. The BX text repeats these lines.

7379. The MS has *chiriqueco tacvi*.

7389. BX omit *ch u vi*.

7391. FX has *Fac* for *taq*.

7394. The location of *chi Chaq* is unknown, though *pa Chaq* is a place near Rabinal and *pa Chaqeh* is a place

E nabe qa chuch,
 E nabe qa qahav.
 X e ch'a oher tak vinaq
 Ta x ki tzihoh,
 Ta x ki toloba pu
 Kanah ok
 Nabe ki tinamit,
 Haka Vitz u bi.
 Ta x e 'ul chi q'u chiri
 X ki tikilibeh chik
 Hun tinamit
 Chi Q'ix u bi.*
 Naht chi x ki ban chiri *
 Ch u vi hu ch'ob tinamit.
 K e mialanik,
 K e q'aholanik puch.
 Chiri k'iy e q'o tak vi.*
 Are tak kahi huyub va.
 Xa hun x ch ok vi
 U bi ri ki tinamit.
 X ki q'uluba ki mial,
 Ki q'ahol xa k'i chi ki zipah.
 Xa toq'obanik,
 Xa pu mayihanik chi ki bano.
 R ahil ki mial chi ki qamo.
 Xa 'utz ki q'oheyik x ki bano.
 Ta x e 'iq'ov chiri ch u vi *
 Hu tak ch'ob chi tinamit.
 Va tak *
 U bi:
 Echi Q'ix,
 Chi Chaq,*
 Humeta Ha,*
 Kuluba,*
 Kavinal,*
 U bi huyub x e yaluh vi.
 Are q'ut ka ki nik' vachih ri huyub,
 Ki tinamit puch.
 Ulah huyub ka ki tzukuh
 E q'u k'i chik chi k'onohel.
 Xa q'u kaminak ok *
 Ri qamol ahavarem r elebal q'ih

near San Bartolome. FX has *chi Chat*.

7395. The location of *Humeta Ha* is unknown.

7396. Location unknown; *ch u vi Q'ulibal* is near Patzite; *pa Q'ulubat* is near Santa Cruz Quiche.

7397. *Qavinal* is a place near Cubulco; FX has *Rabinal*.

7403. BB and SJ read *ca* for *q'u*.

They were already respected grandfathers when they
came there

To the separate towns.
Their face was not received,
So they passed on.
Indeed many there were demons,
Jealous of what they did.
After a long time then they found
Their town,

E mamaxel chik x e 'ul chiri

Ch u vi huhun tinamit.*
Ma na x u qam ki vach
Ri x e 'iq'ov vi.
He tak vi 'ulok q'axiqol,*
Rayil x ki bano.
Q'a 'u naht x ki riq vi
Ki tinamit *

7410

7410

7406. BX have *hun* for *huhun*.
7409-10. BX has 'they went through many sorrows
and trials'.

7412. The life of Chief Sweatbath apparently spans
the end of the migrations and the founding of Beard.
The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan says:

From Yam Rimba they came to the one they later
called
At their Sweatbath,
Because they learned
There lived a man
Whom they had in fact found
Hunting quail.
Being surprised by the lords,
He said,
"Don't kill me
Or do anything to me."
"What is your name,
And what are you doing here?"
Said Jaguar Quiche.
And the old man replied,
"They call me Chief Sweatbath,
And I am hunting quail."
"Would you like to join us?
We shall look upon you as a brother."
"I acknowledge with pleasure
The favor you wish to do me,"
Said Chief Sweatbath.
And the lords said,
"Very well,
From now on
You will be our brother
And companion.
You will have the place
And all the honors and prerogatives
Of Wind Jaguar
Who has died on these migrations,
And you will be the companion
Of Nought."
He was recognized as such by all
And thus was completed the number
Of the four lords
Who came from the sunrise.
There they found a stone
Similar to the one Nacxit gave them.
There in Chief Sweatbath or Tzutu Ha
They remained a long time.
From Chief Sweatbath
They came to Above the Hut.
They built houses
And also stayed a long time.
From Above the Hut

To Yam u Kutu Raxoh
Where want made them eat wasp eggs,
And those of others bugs.
From Yam u Kutu Raxoh
They got to Chil Tzareb.
There they erected houses
And suffered much want,
Although later
They found a way of planting corn
With which they were content,
And stayed a long time.
From that settlement
They came to that of Q'ale Mial Kukur Abah,
A sterile place,
And they suffered
Hunger
And thirst.
From Kukur Abah
They came to the woods at Drum.
There our fathers stayed
For a long time.
From Drum
To that of Worshipping.
They called it that because they used Nacxit's
stone,
Which they used for their magic.
There they stayed a long time
Under the direction of the four lords.
There they devoted themselves to hunting deer,
Whose blood they offered to the Storm spirit,
And that was where they used their magic
Because of the following event.
They were skinning one of their deer
When two men came by,
From those of the mountains
Whom they met later,
Though they had already met those enemy people
Called the Seven Tribes.
The two men said,
"What are you skinning?
It certainly looks like a companion of ours.
We shall take vengeance."
Our fathers answered,
"Very well, we accept the challenge."
There also appeared a masked man
Who was naturally taken for a spy,
Because he was covered from head to foot
With the ears of a certain animal.
The old enemies Ah Tzalakan
And Ah Tibil Xat took part in the challenge.
Our lords ordered the spies tracked
And they were followed
Until the enemy force was contacted,

The Fourth Creation

The honored grandfathers
And the honored fathers,
And this is the name of the town
They came to.

LXXII

Beard is the name of the mountain,
Of their town where they were.
And so they settled down
And there they tried their glory.
They ground their lime
And plaster
In the fourth generation of lords.
And they were called Chief Imitator
And 9 Deer,
Together with the Captain of the Lords.
And then ruled Lord Chief Sweatbath
With White Life, the names

Which was dug in
On a hill which, because of the smoke coming
out of it,
Our side called Smoke Hill.
Warned of this, the spirits went there
And from their power
Made two thunderbolts,
Hail,
And lightning,
Which they discharged over the enemy,
Who, hearing such a terrible noise from our side,
Fled in fear.
This was the first time Chief Sweatbath was
threatened,
The twentieth stop.
Having abandoned Chief Sweatbath,
They arrived at the place they called Bark,
Because there was an abundance of limestone
From which they made their houses.
They found some bananas and birds
But still they passed many labors in those
mountains,
From Bark
They came to the boundary of Qavinal.
There too they raised houses
And made hamlets,
And it was there
That they met the Nights, as they are called.
The latter said to Jaguar Quiche,
Jaguar Night,
Nought
And Chief Sweatbath,
"You are our grandfathers,
Our fathers,
Our lords,"
They adored the spirits,
And offered them birds
And they united.
At last they arrived at the settlement
Which they called Beard.

E mamaxel
E pu qahavixel.
Va q'u 'u bi tinamit
X e 'ul vi.*

LXXII

Chi 'Izuma Chi q'ut *
U bi huyub ki tinamit x e q'ohe vi.
Chi nay puch x e 'amaq'elab vi,
Chiri q'ut x ki tih vi q'aq'al.
X q'ah ki chun,
Ki zahkab
Ch u kah le 'ok ahavab
X e ch'a q'u ri Qo Nache *
X u Beleheb Keh *
R uq puch Q'alel Ahav.*
Ta x ahavar q'ut Ahav Qo Tuha *
R uq Iztayol ki bi,*

When this happened the lord,
Jaguar Quiche,
Already had many sons
And grandsons.
That is, we, the Kavcks
Had multiplied greatly.
Likewise the Great-Houses,
Descendants of Jaguar Night,
And also the Lord Quiches, sons
And grandsons of Nought.
There were proclaimed the titles
And ranks created by Nacxit.
That was where was publicly recognized
Chief Sweatbath
As ruler
And lord.

(lines 767-912)

7416. BX omit e.

7417. BB relates the name to *Izmaleh*, a Rabinal surname, adding later (p. 300), "*P'Izmachi*, the ruins of which one still sees to the south of those of Utatlan or Gumarcaah, on a plateau, the cliffs of which communicate with those of that capital." See also note to line 7640.

7424. *Nache* is obscure. I read it *nachel* from *nachah* 'imitate'. If he has a day name, it is probably e 'tooth'. BB has 'they spoke' but the verb is transitive. *Nachi* is a Yucatecan name (Tozzer, 1941, p. 43).

7425. FX has *Beleheb*.

7426. FX has *Zalel-ahan* consistently for the rest of the text, probably a misreading by Scherzer.

7427. *Qo Tuha(l)* or *Qo Tuh A* 'Chief Sweatbath (?Water)'. See note to line 7081. He was probably head of the Sweatbath lineage (note to line 5091), and led that lineage to a position of prominence (note to line 7412), perhaps displacing the White Winds (note to line 7656).

7428. *Iztayol*. Probably from Nahuatl *iztac-yolli* 'white life'. See note to line 3310. The name has a num-

Of the Counsellor		Ah pop,*	
And Step House Counsellor.	7430	Ah pop qam haa.*	7430
They ruled there		X e 'ahavar chiri	
In Beard.		Chi 'Izuma Chi.	
A perfect town it became		Utzilah tinamit x uxik,*	
Which they made,		X ki bano.	
But there were only three great houses there		Xa q'u 'oxib ri nim haa x ux chiri	
At Beard.		Chi 'Izuma Chi.	
There were not yet the twenty four great houses;		Ma ha bi 'ok ri hu vinaq kahib chi nim haa;	
They still had only three great houses.		Xa 'oxib ok ki nim haa.	
Just one of the great houses		Xa hun u nim haa	
Was the Kaveks,	7440	Qavekib.	7440
And just one great house		Xa q'u hun nim haa	
Before the Great-Houses,		Ch u vach Ni-Hayibab.	
And again just one		Xa nay pu hun	
For the Lord Quiche.		R ech Ahav K'iche.	
But there were still only two embracing groups of		Xa ki kaib chi q'u matzil nim haa *	
great houses,			
The two divisions in the town.		Ri ka ch'ob chi tinamit.	
That was when they were at Beard		Are 'e q'o chi 'Izuma Chi	
And their hearts were only one.		Xa hun ki k'ux.	
They had no witchcraft;		Ma ha bi k itzelal,	
They had no bitterness.	7450	Ma pu ha bi ki k'ayeal.	7450
The government		Xa liyanik	
Was just peaceful.		Ahavarem.	
They had no fights,		Ma ha bi ki ch'aoh,	
Or quarrels.		Ki yuhuh puch.	
There was just light		Xa zaq,	
And tranquility in their hearts.		Xa 'amaq' q'o chi ki k'ux.	
There was no sinister staring;		Ma ha bi mox vachinik,*	
There was no red staring		Ma pu ha bi kaq vachinik	
They did.		X ki bano.	
Indeed their glory remained small.	7460	Q'a ch'utin ok ki q'aq'al.	7460
They didn't often get together to destroy then,		Ma ha k'i ka nuq' mayih ok,	
And they didn't grow proud then.		Ma ha pu ka nimar ok.	
And then they tried		Ta x ki tih q'ut	
To excel in shields,		X k iq'ovizah pokob	
There,		Chiri	
At Beard.		Chi 'Izuma Chi.	
And it was a measure of their authority		X r etal q'ut k ahavarem ri	
When they did it.		Ta x ki bano.	
It signalled their glory,		X r etal ki q'aq'al	
And marked their greatness.	7470	R etal nay pu ki nimal.	7470
And when it was seen by the Seers,		Ta x il q'ut r umal Ilokab,	

ber of variant forms in Quiche documents: *xtayul*, *xtayub*, *ixtayul*, etc.

7429-30. FX has '*señores de trono y alfombra*'.

7430. BX have *A(h)*.

7433. FX reads *u tz'ibah* for *utzilah*.

7445. BB and SJ omit *nim haa*; BB translates 'two snakes', commenting that it is a quite rare plural. It is not a plural at all.

7457-60. '*Sin envidia*' says FX tersely.

The Fourth Creation

Then war was begun by the Seers.
 They tried to kill the Lord Chief Sweatbath,
 And just one lord tried to protect himself.
 It was the Lord White Life who wanted them to
 teach him.
 He wanted to be taught to kill by the Seers.
 But it didn't go right,
 Their sinister plan against the Lord Chief
 Sweatbath.
 Only later it happened.
 At first the lord was not killed by the Seers. 7480
 And thus began the quarrels
 And wars of jealousy.
 They penetrated the first town.
 The warriors came
 And then what they wanted
 Was to destroy the face of Quiche.
 Just to rule by themselves was in their hearts,
 And it was just for that they came to kill.
 They were taken prisoner,
 And they were captured. 7490
 Not very many of them
 Were saved.
 And then began the sacrificing.
 They sacrificed the Seers before the gods.
 That then became the payment for their sins
 By Lord Chief Sweatbath.
 And many more went into slavery.
 They were enslaved.
 And they were made slaves
 And just went to give themselves up 7500
 To being knocked around
 For their concerting war
 Against the lord
 And against Canyon Town.
 To have destroyed,
 To have crushed the face of the Quiche rulers
 Was what their hearts wanted.
 But it didn't happen.
 And thus was the creation
 Of the sacrifice of men before the gods, 7510
 Then were made shields
 And weapons,
 The beginning

Ta x vinaqir labal r umal Ilokab.
 X r ah ul kamizax ok ri 'Ahav Qo Tuha.*
 Xa q'u hun ahav x r ah q'u k ib.
 Are ri 'Ahav Iztayol x r ah ki tihoh.

 X r ah tihox k umal Ilokab chi kamizani.
 Ma q'u x el apan ok
 Ki mox vachibal chi r ih Ahav Qo Tuha.

 Xa chi k ih x qah vi.
 Ma nabe x kam ta ri 'ahav r umal Ilokab.* 7480
 Kehe q'ut u xenahik yuhuh
 Ch'ak'imal labal puch.
 X k okibeh nabe tinamit
 X e beek e kamizanel.
 Are ta q'u x k ah
 Ri zach ta 'u vach K'iche.
 Xa ta ki tukel x ahavarik chi ki k'ux,
 Xa q'u 'are x e 'ul kam ok.
 X e telecheexik,
 X e kanabix puch. 7490
 Ma vi ha rub chik
 X kolotah chi k e.
 Ta x tiker q'ut puzunik.
 X e puz ri 'Ilokab ch u vach kabavil.
 Are chik tohobal ki mak x uxik
 R umal Ahav Qo Tuha.
 K'i chi q'ut x ok chi munil;
 X e 'alabilaxik
 X e vinaqix puch
 Xa x be ki ya k ib 7500
 Chi ch'akix
 R umal ki nuk'ubal labal
 Chi r ih ahav,
 Chi r ih Zivan Tinamit.*
 X mayixik,
 X q'utux ta 'u vach r ahaval K'iche
 X r ah ki k'ux.
 Ma q'u x banatahik.
 Kehe q'ut u vinaqirik
 U puzik vinaq ch u vach kabavil.* 7510
 Ta x ban ri pokob
 Labal
 U xe

7473. BX have *u* for *ul*.

7480. The implication that Iztayol eventually killed Qo Tuha is not confirmed by any other Quiche or Cakchiquel source, but it is credible.

7504. Conceivably a reference to the former site of

Chichicastenango. See lines 7716 and 7747-8.

7510. The MS has *va* for *vach*. BB suggests this was the origin of the public cult, since secret sacrifices are attributed to the First Fathers.

Of the initiation of defense		Ta x tikarik u pokobaxik	
Of the town		Tinamit	
At Beard.		Chi 'Izuma Chi.	
There was the beginning		Chila x tikar vi	
The rooting		U xenahik	
Of glory,		Q'aq'al	
Because it was indeed great,	7520	R umal ri xax nim vi	7520
The lordship		R ahavarem	
Of the Quiche lord.		K'iche 'ahav.	
Everywhere they were spirits		Hu mah e naval	
And lords.		Ahavab.	
There was nothing they humbled,		X ma q'o vi ki yoq'otah vi,	
There was nothing whatever that came to them		X ma q'o vi a la chi nak ch ok chi k e	
That wasn't an agent for the greatness		Xa vi banol r ech nimal	
Of the lordship.		Ahavarem.	
There it was rooted at Beard;		Chiri xenahinak vi chi 'Izuma Chi,	
There it grew, the gods' sacrifice.	7530	Chiri x nimar vi 'u q'ixik kabavil	7530
It remained threatening,		Chi xibin chik	
And all the tribes were afraid.		X u xibih pu r ib r onohel amaq',	
The little tribes,		Ch'uti 'amaq',	
The big tribes		Nima 'amaq'.	
Watched the coming		X ki vachih r okik	
Of the captives.		Teleche vinaq	
Whom they sacrificed,		X ki puzu	
And killed		X ki kamizah	
For their glory,		R umal ki q'aq'al,	
Their majesty,	7540	Ki tepeval	7540
The Lord Chief Sweatbath		Ri 'Ahav Qo Tuha	
And Lord White Life,		Ahav Iztayol *	
Together with the Great-Houses		R uq Ni-Hayibab	
And the Lord Quiche.		Ahav K'iche.	
There were only three divisions in the town		Xa 'ox ch'ob chi tinamit x q'ohe	
There at Beard, as the town was called		Chiri chi 'Izuma Chi u bi tinamit	
Until again there they began feasts		Q'a chiri chi nay puch x ki tikiba vi vaim	
In honor of their daughters.		U qaha chi r ech ki mial.*	
Then they cut up firewood.		Ta x ki ziih ulok.*	
That was the rallying point	7550	Are ki kuchubal k ib	7550
Of the three great houses,		Ri 'oxib chi nim haa	
As they were called by them.		U bi k umal,	
So there they drank their drinks		Chiri q'ut chi k uqah vi k uqia	
And there they ate their food		Chiri puch chi ki veeh vi ki va	
As the price of their sisters,		R ahil k anab	
And the price of their daughters.		R ahil pu mial.	
There was only happiness in their hearts		Xa kikotem chi ki k'ux	
When they did it.		Ta x ki bano.	
They ate;		X e vaik	

7542. The MS has *aha ztayul*. See also note to line 3310.

7548. SJ reads *uq'ah* 'drinking' here.

7549. FX omits the line. Firewood remained a traditional part of the bride price into the 20th century. BB misinterprets it as tribute resin for the temples.

They feasted in their great houses.
 "It is just our gratitude,
 And just our clarification
 Of our sign,
 Our word,
 The sign
 Of our word
 Over the born females
 And born males," they said.
 There was designated then
 And there they named
 Their lineages for themselves,
 And tribes for themselves,
 Their cities for themselves.
 "Our mates for ourselves!
 We the Kaveks,
 We the Great-Houses,
 And we the Lord Quiche,"
 They said,
 The three towns
 And three great houses.
 And for a long time they did that
 At Beard.
 Then they found in turn
 And then they saw
 Another town.
 They abandoned in turn the one at Beard.
 And so they rose up from there
 And came to the town here.
 Rotten Cane was the name
 It was called by the Quiche.
 Then in turn came the lords,
 Chief Sweatbath,
 And Quetzal Serpent

7560 X e 'echa ch u pam ki nim haa.* 7560
 "Xa qa qamovaḅal
 Xa pu qa pakubal
 Chi r ech q etal
 Qa tzihel
 R etal
 Qa tzih
 Ch u vi 'ixoq al
 Achih al," x e ch'a.
 Chila x q'ob vi 'ulok
 7570 Chila puch x ki biih vi 7570
 Ki chinamit k ib
 U kamaq' k ib *
 Ki tikpan k ib
 "Qa k'ulel q ib
 Oh Qavikib,
 Oh Ni-Hayib
 Oh puch Ahav K'iche,"*
 X e ch'a
 Oxib tinamit,
 7580 Oxib pu nim haa. 7580
 Naht q'ut x ki ban chiri
 Chi 'Izuma Chi.*
 Ta x ki riq chik
 Ta x k il puch
 Hun chik tinamit.
 X k okotah chi vi ri chi 'Izuma Chi.
 Kate puch ta x e yakatah chi 'ulok
 X e 'ul chiri pa tinamit
 Q'umarik Ah u bi *
 7590 K umal K'iche ch uch'axik. 7590
 Ta x e 'ul chik ahavab
 Qo Tuha
 R uq Q'uq' Kumatz,

7560. The MS has *ocha* for *echa*. BB holds to the MS reading and translates 'painted cups.' The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan says:

Then they began to offer their daughters,
 Whom they married with certain ceremonies,
 And jars of white whip.
 And they had a basket of small avocados,
 Wild pig shanks,
 And small tamales wrapped and tied with
 leaves.
 These were the gifts
 And thus the wedding was concluded.
 (lines 975-82)

7571-4. These have been generally read as verbs, but Quiche is quite precise about verbalizing nouns. Although it is an unusual use of the reflexive, I believe they are all objects of the preceding verb *biih* 'name'. Line 7572 has usually been read *vuq amaq' k ib*, but I believe

it should be *r uq (k) amaq' k ib*. *Tecpan* was in Guatemala a title of a major city. Utatlan, Solola, Iximche, and perhaps others were of this rank. Line 7574 may be read either *k'ulel* 'enemy' or *q'ulel* 'spouse'. In the context the latter seems to me to make more sense.

7577. The MS has *pu* for *puch*.

7582. The Tam Paper says:

While they were there at Beard
 They saw three suns in one day . . .

(lines 97-8)

7589. *Gumarcaah* in the MS and *Cumarcaad* in FX, and hard to interpret but for the Nahuatl translation *Utatlan* 'place of cane'. *Q'umarik Ah* is 'rotten cane'. The city was burned (see line 7640 ff.) and moved to the present site of Santa Cruz Quiche before the Popol Vuh was written.

Together with all the lords Who were lamented, And they were the fifth generation of men Under light, Under unity, Under life And creation.		R uq puch r onohel ahavab X r oq'ex ok.* X r o le 'a puch vinaq U xe zaq U xe 'amaq' U xe k'azilem Vinaqirem.	
And there they made their houses, And there too they made the house of the gods. In the middle Of the top of the town they put it. Then they came And then they stopped abruptly. And then again increased Their lordship.	7600	Chiri q'ut k'i x ki ban vi k ochoch. Chiri nay puch x ki ban vi r ochoch kabavil. Ch u niq'ahal U vi tinamit x ki ya vi. Ta x e 'ulik Ta x ki tiqilibeh puch. Kate puch u nimarik chik K ahavarem E k'i chik,*	7600
They were many more; They were crowds more, For they created more: Many great houses. They were assembled, And they were divided up, Because their fights had started; They saw red at each other Over the price of their sisters, The price of their daughters, And because they didn't have dishes And drinks before them.	7610	E pu tzatz chik Ta x ki naohih chik, K'i nim haa.* X e moloxik, X e hachahox puch R umal x vinaqir ki ch'aoh. X e kaq vachin chi k ib Ch u vi r ahil k anab R ahil ki mial, R umal xa ma vi chi tzaqon K uqia chi ki vach	7610
And so that was the reason again For dividing themselves, For they had turned on each other, Turning angry Over the bones And skulls of the dead. They became angry at each other. So they divided The nine of them in the town, And still had quarrels	7620	Are chi q'ut u xe chik Ki hachovik k ib. Ta x ki tzolobeh k ib Tzol k'ak'abeh Baq U holom kaminak X ki k'ak'abeh k ib. Ta x ki pax Ri beleh tak chi tinamit X banom ok u ch'aohil	7620
Over sisters And daughters. When the decision of the lordship was made There came to be twenty four great houses. And formerly then they all used to come here At the head of their towns. Then they completed	7630	Anab Mial. Ta x ban u naohixik ahavarem Hu vinaq kahib chi nim haa x uxik. X oher ok k e 'ulik k onohel chiri Ch u vi ki tinamit.* Ta x e tz'aqat	7630

7595. FX omits lines 7595, 7597-8, 7605-6, 7610-2, 7617, and *tzaqon* in 7619.

7609. BB omits *e*.

7612. BX have *na* for *nim*.

7636. That is, the heads of the 24 leading lineages

brought into Quiche their contingents of priests on temporary religious duty, but they were living outside the city. Unlike *amaq'*, which may mean either 'town' or 'tribe', *tinamit* means only 'town'.

The Fourth Creation

Twenty four great houses

Here

In the town of Rotten Cane.

It was blessed

By the Lord Bishop,

The town,

After it had been deserted.

They fired it

And it had been devastated.

Their benches,

Their pillows

Appeared scattered

Everywhere in the fire.

Each of the lords

7640

7650

Hu vinaq kahib nim haa *

Chiri

Pa tinamit Q'umarik Ah.*

X utzirizaxik

R umal Señor Obispo *

Ri tinamit

Q'a x tole kan ok.

X e q'aq'ar chiri

X nuk' mayihinak ok.

Ki tem

Ki ch'akat

X hachahox ki vach *

Hu tak vi chi q'aq'.

Huhun chi 'ahavab *

7640

7650

7638. BB has *vinaqe*.

7640. FX describes the city, in part no doubt as it was in the early 18th century:

"These buildings were constructed on a hill which is entirely surrounded by a great canyon, leaving only one side through which this hill communicates with the rest of the land; but this entrance is very narrow. On the plane which the hill forms at the top there are constructed around the area and so as to form little squares the 24 great houses mentioned, of the lords. Each one is like a large room, elevated about two yards (*varas*) of earth fill above the level of the soil. This room formed its own corridor, and the whole was covered with straw thatch because they had not attained the use of tile. On these little squares were held the great dances which they had on their festivals. In the middle of one of these little squares there rose a tower of fill, which goes on up in a sort of pyramidal form, square, having on each of its four faces its stairways and at the corners sort of a support or bastion, also diminishing as it goes up. The steps are very thin and narrow so that it is frightening to climb them, because each stairway must have 30 or 40 of them, all made of stone. On the top is placed the idol which is called *Tohil*, and there was made over it a covering of straw, supported by pillars of the same stonework. On the left as we leave this tower there rises next to it a great wall about two yards wide and about a yard and a half high; and on the top there rises another wall of about three quarter thickness and the same two yards wide, which is the thickness of the cement, and about three yards high, and this is full of holes, having been made that way, and what it indicates is that there was tied the person who was to be sacrificed, he being tightly tied, thongs being passed through those holes, and thus tied he faced where the idol was, and opening him cruelly through the ribs they took out his heart, which was what they offered to the idol, preserving its natural heat. This tower dominates all the courtyards and little squares formed by the houses and thus from everywhere the idol was seen. Next to this big tower it makes a sort of large tank, having its edges thick with stone, with the

battlements or pyramids which entirely surround it. They are quite wide so that many people can fit on them, who used to watch the ball games that were held there, which were the entertainment of the kings and the other lords; all this building, where the houses didn't cluster, was closed off from a hill made of stone which was called *tz'alam q'ox tum*, that is, rampart, and thus are called all of this kind of buildings because in many parts, or most, besides being the house of the idol this was like a castle or fortress in which they defended themselves, and thus it was constructed on the heights of the hills." (Pp. 104-5.)

BB visited it in the 19th century and noted (pp. 312-3): "... there was only one entrance for this large city, the one by which one still gets in today. On another plateau, to the north of Utatlan, are the ruins of *Ilocab*, with an entrance of their own, and to the south that of *Izmachi*, which one may enter only by a road which is also its own." BB gives the ancient city 300,000 people (p. 345), which is probably ten times too many even if the immediate vicinity and adjacent cantons be included.

BX read *q'umer* for *q'umar* in this line.

7642. Francisco Marroquín (1499-1563), first bishop of Guatemala. Utatlan was burned in 1524 by Alvarado and the Counsellor and Step House Counsellor were either burned or hanged (sources disagree). FX and BB miss the reference to the fire, the former translating 'and there they grew great and there they assembled their thrones and seats, and they divided themselves, each in his grandeur'. BB's reading is quite similar. This line is the first Spanish in the text since line 46. Marroquín visited and blessed Santa Cruz Quiche in 1539 according to AR (p. 29).

7649. BX have *hachatzox*.

7651. The MS has *huhun chi ahavab beleheb tac chi chinamit xucolela rib beleheb chi ahavab (beleheb tac chi chinamit xucolela rib beleheb chi chinamit) chi ahavab caviuib*. The part in parentheses is crossed out. The first occurrence of *xucolela* is also crossed out and written over. I have dropped the repetition of *chi*

Of the nine lineages settled around:
 Nine lords of the Kaveks,
 Nine lords of the Great-Houses,
 Four lords of the Lord Quiche,
 And two lords of the White Winds.
 They became many,
 And many more too, under each lord.
 But the first was he who had born
 And engendered sons. 7660
 Many,
 Many were the lineages of each of the lords.
 We shall tell
 The names of the lords,
 One by one,
 With each great house.

LXXIII

These then are the names of the lords before the
 Kaveks;
 This is the first lord then:
 Counsellor,
 Step House Counsellor, 7670
 The Storm priest,
 The Quetzal Serpent priest,
 The Great Chairman of the Kavek,
 The Councilman in the Chair,
 The Overseer of Cotton and Bean Stores,
 The Councilman at the Ball Court Walls,
 The Mother of the Step House.

ahavab before the last word as also repetitive and not parallel to the following line.

7655. The MS has *cahi* for *kahib*.

7656. The relative unimportance of the White Wind lineage is doubtless responsible for the weakening of its putative ancestor, Wind Jaguar, and its god, *Niq'ah Tak'ah*, throughout the text. BX says the lineage belonged to the family of Chief Sweatbath, but there is a separate Sweatbath lineage (*Tuhala Haa*). It seems clear that this lineage was an immediate rival to the White Winds and may even have replaced it for a time. See note to line 7412.

7661. BX omit this line.

7666. FX has *da* for *haa*.

7673. The root is *ch'okoh* 'sit', a repeated reference in Quiche titles. FX has *canec* for *Qavek*.

7674. The root is *t'uyuh* 'sit'.

7675. *Lol* is obscure, perhaps *ilol* 'seer'. *Met* is 'cotton' (though *meet* is 'wild tobacco'). The Origin of the Lords of Zapotitan says in a remarkable passage:

This Chief Two engendered *Keh Nay*
 And five other sons,
 Who were provided by this king as governors.

Beleheb tak chi chinamit x u k'olela r ib:
 Beleheb chi 'ahavab Qavekib
 Beleheb chi 'ahavab Ni-Hayibab
 Kahib chi 'ahav Ahav K'iche *
 Kaib chi 'ahav Zaq Iq'ib.*
 K'iya tak x uxik
 K'i chi nay puch chi r ih huhun ahavab.
 Xa u nabe ri q'o chi vi r al
 U q'ahol. 7660
 Tzatz * 7660
 Tzatz u chinamital huhun chi 'ahavab.
 Chi qa biih
 Ki be ri 'ahavab
 Ch u huhunal,
 Huhun u nim haa.*

LXXIII

Vae q'ute ki bi 'ahavab ch u vach Qavekib.

Are nabe 'ahav va:

Ah Pop,

Ah Pop Qam Haa, 7670

Ah Tohil,

Ah Q'uy' Kumatz,

Nim Ch'okoh Qavek,*

Popol Vinaq chi T'uy,*

Lol Met Keh Nay,*

Popol Vinaq pa Hom Tzalat,*

U Chuch Qam Haa.*

Hence until the Spaniards came
 The kings had this name of *Keh Nay*
 Because it is like "Caesars" among the
 natives. (lines 105-10)

Keh is 'deer' but may also be 'put aside' or 'fence'; *q'eeh* is 'lay across' and *qeh* is 'order' or 'pour'. *Nay* is 'bean'. WC cites Cakchiquel *lol* 'hope' and reads 'hope-bringer-sun (or -deer)'. BB has 'minister of tributes.'

Tozzer (1941, p. 200) distinguishes three species of Yucatecan cotton: *Gossypium herbaceum*, *G. hirsutum*, and *G. barbadense*. The Quiche call cotton *bob* or *met*, though species remain unidentified. Cordage yarn was made from maguey fiber (*q'aam*; ix *kako*). The staple item of tribute in the first years after the conquest were bolts (*mantas*) of cotton cloths (3 spans wide and 16 *varas* long). This was likely true before the conquest as well.

7676. The root is *tzalatsoh* 'lean, cant', apparently a reference to the slope of the ball court walls.

7677. The title is reminiscent of *cihuacoatl* 'serpent woman', the second rank in the Aztec priesthood and government. It may be significant therefore that this title is omitted later and replaced by *Tepev Yaqui*

LXXIV

And these are the lords who were before the
Kaveks:
Nine lords with their several great houses placed
around,
Whose face can still be seen. 7680

LXXV

And these next are the lords before the Great-Houses;
This is the first lord, then:
The Lord Captain,
Lord Nobleman,
Captain Step House,
Great Step House,
Mother of the Step House,
Great Chairman of the Great-Houses,
(The priest of) Lord Jaguar,
Director of the Lineage Heads of 7690
Nobility,
The Great Overseer of Cotton and Giver of Flowers.
Nine lords then before the Great-Houses.

LXXVI

And these next are the Lord Quiche then;
These are the lords' names:
Nobleman,
Lord Overseer of Cotton,
Lord Great Chairman of the Lords,
Lord Fire Peak.
Four lords before the Lord Quiches,
With their great houses placed around. 7700

LXXVII

And there were two lineages more too,
The White Wind lords:
Dripping House
And Captain White Wind.
There was just one great house
For these two lords.

'Mexican Majesties'. See note to line 8458. BB has 'major-domo in chief'.

7679. BB adds 'whose title will be explained again later', which is not in the text.

7683. *Q'alel* is probably from *q'alah* 'clear'; it is a substantival and agentive inflection: 'clearer'. It is used as the title for any head of a substantial lineage, town, army, etc., but *the* Captain was the head of the Great-Houses lineage. *Ah kulel* was a Yucatecan title (Tozzer, 1941, pp. 55, 63).

LXXIV

Are q'ut ahavab ri ch u vach Qavekib:
Beleheb chi 'ahavab k'olohe 'u nim haa ch u
huhunal,*
Kate chik chi vachin u vach. 7680

LXXV

Are chi q'u 'ahavab va ch u vach Ni-Hayibab;
Are nabe 'ahav va:
Ahav Q'alel,*
Ahav Ah Tzik Vinaq,
Q'alel Qam Haa,*
Nima Qam Haa,
U Chuch Qam Haa,
Nim Ch'okoh Ni-Hayibab,
Avilix,
Yakolatam u Tzam Pop Zaq Latol,* 7690
Nima Lol Met Yeol Tux.*
Beleheb q'ut chi 'ahavab ch u vach Ni-Hayibab.

LXXVI

Are chi q'ut Ahav K'iche va;
Vae ki bi 'ahavab:
Ah Tzik Vinaq,
Ahav Lol Met,
Ahav Nim Ch'okoh Ahav (K'iche),*
Ahav Haka Vitz.
Kahib ahavab ch u vach Ahav K'icheeb
K'olehe 'u nim haa. 7700

LXXVII

Kaib chinamit chi nay puch,
Zaq Iq'ib ahavab:
Tz'utu Haa,
Q'alel Zaq Iq'.
Xa hun chi nim haa
E kaib chi 'ahavab

7685. FX has *cale cambia*.

7690. *Yakolatam* is presumably from *yakoh* 'raise, prepare, give directions'. *Yak* is a particle used in counting tribute. The inflection is agentive (-ol), inceptive (-at) and completive (-am). *Zaq Latol* may be *zaqilatol* from *zaq* 'white'. The inflection would be abstractive (-il), inceptive (-at) and agentive (-ol), hence perhaps 'brightener'.

7691. FX has *ycol* for *yeol*.

7697. BB supplies *K'iche*.

LXXVIII

So thus are completed twenty four lords
 And twenty four also were the great houses.
 Then increased the glory
 And majesty in Quiche.
 Then was glorified;
 Then was magnified
 The greatness,
 The importance of Quiche.
 Then was limed
 And then was plastered the Canyon Town.
 The little tribes came
 And the great tribes, and the lord had a name.
 Quiche grew proud
 When there was created
 Glory
 And majesty.
 Then was created the house of the gods
 And also the houses of the lords,
 But it was not they who did it;
 They didn't work,
 And they didn't make their houses,
 And the reason they didn't make their god's house
 Was because they squeezed their born
 And engendered sons.
 It was not just that they begged them;
 They were just stolen
 And broken.
 Truly they belonged to the lords severally.
 And many were their older brothers
 And younger brothers.
 Life was highly directed,
 And highly directed too were the words of
 command of each lord.

7708. The Lineage of the Lords of Totonicapan also
 has an account of the titles:

That was where was publicly recognized
 Chief Sweatbath
 As ruler
 And lord,
 Being granted the titles of Counsellor
 And Step House Counsellor,
 And there also was given
 The title Step House Counsellor
 To White Life,
 Son of Chief Imitator.
 The ranks there were to be in the state
 According to the instructions of Nacxit
 Were those of
 Counsellor,
 Mason,
 Lineage Head,
 Bench Captain,
 Knight,

LXXVIII

Kehe q'ut x tz'akat vi hu vinaq kahib chi 'ahavab
 Hu vinaq kahib nay puch chi nim haa x uxik.*
 Ta x nimarik q'aq'al
 Tepeval pa K'iche.
 Ta x q'aq'arik,
 Ta x tepevarik
 U nimal
 R alal K'iche.
 Ta x chunaxik
 Ta x zahkabix puch Zivan Tinamit.
 Nima 'amaq', q'o q'ut u bi 'ahav.
 X ul ch'uti 'amaq'
 X nimarizan K'iche
 Ta x vinaqirik
 Q'aq'al
 Tepeval.
 Ta x vinaqirik r ochoch kabavil
 K ochoch nay pu 'ahavab.
 Ma nay pu 'are x e banovik;
 Ma vi x e chakun tah
 Ma pu x ki ban ta k ochoch,
 Ma nay pu xa ta x ki ban r ochoch ki kabavil
 Xa r umal x e q'irik k al
 Ki q'ahol.
 Ma na xa ki bochi
 Xa ta pu k eleq'
 Ki q'upun ta puch.
 Qitzih vi chi k ech ahavab chi ki huhunal.
 Tzatz nay puch k atz
 Ki ch'ak' x uxik.
 X molomoxik u q'ohayik *
 X molomox nay puch u t'aabal u tzih hun chi
 'ahavab.

Delegate,
 Great Chairman of the Bench,
 Snake Captain,
 House Delegate,
 Great Collector of the Bench,
 Storm Priest,
 Chairman,
 Mat Head,
 House Director,
 And Mat Collector of the House.
 All these titles
 And ranks
 Had their insignia
 And these were claws
 Of jaguars,
 Panthers,
 Eagles,
 Et cetera.

(lines 909-42)

7737-8. FX translates 'and then they came together
 and piled up to hear what each of the lords ordered'.

The Fourth Creation

Truly then they were adored, And truly great was the rank of the lords. 7740 It was magnified And respected, The day, And birth of the lords By their born And engendered sons. So the people of the canyon grew And the people of the town also with them. Not only were there many then, But all the tribes came to give themselves up. 7750 And when war Fell upon The canyon, The town, Then by their magic The lords triumphed, The Lord Quetzal Serpent And Lord Chief Sweatbath. Truly it was a spirit lord That Quetzal Serpent became. 7760 For a week he climbed up to heaven, And for a week he went to make the descent to Hell, And again for a week he became a serpent; He actually changed into a serpent. And again for a week he made himself into an eagle; For a week again into a jaguar. Truly like an eagle, Or a jaguar his appearance became. For a week again he became a puddle of blood; All by himself he became a pool of blood. 7770 Truly that of a spirit lord Was his essence. There was fear before him by all the lords; They were afraid Of the orders He commanded, All the lords And tribes. His essence Was a spirit lord. 7780 And this was the beginning And growth of Quiche When the lord Quetzal Serpent did it As a sign	Qitzih vi chi 'e loq Qitzih puch chi nim ki q'alem ahavab. 774 Nimatalik Kovatal puch U q'ih R alaxik ahavab R umal r al U q'ahol. Ta x k'iyarik ah zivan Ah tinamit r uq nay puch. Ma na xa ta k'i Kehe x ul ki ya k ib r onohel amaq'. 7750 Q'a labal q'ut X qah vi U zivan U tinamit Q'a r umal ki naval Ahavab x e q'aq'arik, Ri 'Ahav Q'uq' Kumatz Ahav Qo Tuha. Qitzih chi naval ahav Ri Q'uq' Kumatz x uxik. 7760 Hu vuq ch aqan chi kah,* Hu vuq q'ut chi be 'u bana qah ok chi Xibalba, Hu vuq chi q'ut chi q'ohe chi kumatzil. Qitzih chi kumatz ch uxik. Hu vuq chi nay puch ch u ban ok chi kotal,* Hu vuq chik chi balamil. Qitzih vi chi kot, Chi balam u vachibal ch uxik. Hu vuq chik chi r emeyik chi kiq'el. U tukel r emanik kiq' ch uxik. 7770 Qitzih chi naval Ahav u q'oheyik. Xibix ib ch u vach r umal r onohel ahavab X paxin r ib U t'aik X u t'a R onohel ahavab Amaq'. U q'oheyik Naval ahav. 7780 Are q'ut u tikarik U nimarik puch K'iche Ta x u ban Ahav Q'uq' Kumatz R etal
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7761. *Hu vuq* 'one seven'.

7765. The MS has *o* for *ok*, an interpretation coerced by the utterance terminal significance of *-o*.

Of greatness.
 Not forgotten was the face of his grandson
 Or his son in his heart.
 Perhaps there was nothing that he did
 That was real.
 For one lord,
 Magic then,
 Was his essence.
 He was just a humiliation for all the tribes
 When he did it.
 It was just a display of himself,
 From which really one result was
 That he became the head of the tribes.
 The fourth generation of lords
 Was the spirit lord
 Named Quetzal Serpent.
 And just by himself
 He was Counsellor
 And Step House Counsellor.
 And there remained their signs,
 Their words.
 They were glorified
 And they were magnified,
 And when they engendered sons in turn
 Then many were their sons.
 So many more were made.
 And there were engendered
 Mountain Prince
 And White Life
 And just performed the lordship
 And became the fifth generation of lords.
 Only they engendered
 Another generation of lords.

LXXIX

So these are the names next
 Of the sixth generation of lords.
 Both were great lords;
 They were glorious.
 Blood was the name of one lord;
 8 Monkey was the name of the other.

7797. BB reads *keik* for *k'izik*.

7802. Literally, 'only really'. The implication is, however, as given, which is confirmed by close study of the king lists and was recognized by FX.

7810. BB and SJ have *ka* for *k'iya*.

7823. *Kiq'ab*, literally 'bloods', is a Mam day name (*kikap*) corresponding to the Quiche *nooh* and Nahuatl *ollin*. BB reads *E Gag Quicab* as the name of the king, which is poetically impossible. FX reads *Zacquicab* here

Nimal.
 X ma zachel u vach u mam
 U q'ahol ch u k'ux.
 Ma ha bi 'a ta la x ban vi
 Ri x q'ohe.
 Ta hun ahav
 Naval ta
 U q'oheyik.
 Xa yoq'obal r ech r onohel amaq'
 Ta x u bano.
 Xa 'u k'utubal r ib
 R umal xere hu k'izik *
 U holom amaq' x uxik.
 U kah le 'ahav
 Ri naval ahav
 Q'uq' Kumatz u bi.
 Xa vi xere *
 Ah Pop
 Ah Pop Qam Haa.
 X kanah chi q'ut k etal
 Ki tzihel.
 X e q'aq'arik
 X e tepevar puch.
 Ta x e q'aholan chi q'ut
 K'iya ki q'ahol q'ut.*
 Tzatz chik x u bano.
 X q'aholax
 Ri Tepepul
 Iztayol.
 Xa ki 'ahavarem x u bano
 R o le 'ahav x uxik.
 Xa vi x e q'aholanik
 Hu tak le chi 'ahavab.

LXXIX

Va chi q'ute ki bi chik
 U vaq le 'ahav.
 E kaib chi nimaq ahavab,
 E q'aq'.
 Kiq'ab u bi hun ahav,*
 Cahuizimah u bi hun chik,*

and keeps that name for him throughout. The MS gives his name once as *Quigab* (line 7851), which helps to confirm the derivation I have suggested.

7824. Possibly from Nahuatl *chicueozomatl* 'eight monkey'. In Quiche this would be *vahxaqib baatz'*, the day which initiates the *chol q'ih* in modern Momostenango, where it is celebrated with a famous festival including the Flying Pole Dance. BB translates 'decorated gourd or armed for war'.

The Fourth Creation

And there was much done by Blood

And 8 Monkey

That made proud

The Quiche.

Because truly spirits

Were their essence

That broke

And shattered

The canyon,

The town,

The little tribes

And the big tribes.

Nearby among them

There were formerly towns.

They were:

The mountain of the Fire Trees

Which is today Nettle,

And also another mountain of the Rabinal

Which is at Pouring River,

And a mountain of the Rains

Which is Plaster River,

And the towns of the White Earths:

Above Hot Springs,

And Under 10 Deer,

Before the Fort,

And Willow Tree.

7830

7840

7850

Are q'ut tzatz chik x u ban ri Kiq'ab

Cahuizimah.

Are chi nimarizan

K'iche,

R umal qitzih naval

U q'oheyik.

Are q'ahovik

Are puch x paxinik

U zivan *

U tinamit

Ch'uti 'amaq'

Nima 'amaq'.

Naqah tak u xol

Q'o vi tinamit oher.

Are

U huyubal Q'aq' Chekeleb

Ri ch u vi La vakamik,*

U huyubal chi nay pu Rabinaleb,

Ri pa Maq' A,*

U huyub q'u Qavokeb,

Ri Zahkaba Haa,*

U tinamit chi q'ut Zaq Ulevab,*

Ch u vi Miq'in A,*

Xe Lahuh,*

Ch u va Tzaq,*

Tzolah Chee.*

7830

7840

7850

7833-4. Omitted by FX.

7841. *Ch u vi La* 'above the nettles', in Nahuatl *chichicastenango* 'place of the lords of nettles' is the modern Santo Tomas Chichicastenango. It is interesting to note that it was at this time under Cakchiquel lordship (mid-15th century). The nettle is *Urera bracci-fera* or *Chichicaste nigra*.

7843. *Pa Maq' A* 'pouring river' has been identified with the modern Zacualpa (perhaps Nahuatl *zoquialpan* 'muddy or swampy place'). The site of the old city is at La Vega, just east of the modern town, and has been excavated by Wauchope (1948). It was probably tributary to the Rabinal lineage until it was conquered by Blood. It is my belief that Blood's conquest of Zacualpa corresponds to Wauchope's "Yaqui Phase" at that site, signalled by introduction of such Mexicanisms as cremation and occasioning the abandonment of the main temples and dwellings. This would place the conquest of Zacualpa in 1464, which is where it belongs in the general chronology of the wars of Blood's reign, give or take perhaps five years. This would correspond to the Mayan date 10.19.0.0.0 (Wauchope, 1948, p. 39).

7845. The modern San Andres Sajcabaja.

7846. The site of Zaculeu is just outside Huehuetenango. It has been extensively excavated and restored (Woodbury and Trik, 1953) and was occupied from Classic times. It appears from the present mention to

have been the most important of the Mam towns in the later 15th century.

7847. *Ch u vi Miq'in A* 'above hot springs', in Nahuatl *totonicapan* 'place of hot springs', is the modern Totonicapan, under Mam lordship in the 15th century. BB says, "... it was situated on a high mountain where one still sees its ruins, which the Indians designate by the name of *Coxtun*, the fort, in the middle of Totonicapan where they dominate the hot springs that have given it its name."

7848. *Xe Lahuh Keh* 'under 10 deer' was originally the Mam *Kulaha* 'thunder'. According to folklore, Alvarado changed the name to *quetzaltenango*, Nahuatl for 'place of the lords of quetzals', in honor of the appearance of Tecum u Mam, dressed in quetzal plumes for the battle at nearby Olinitepeque in 1524. It is now called Quezaltenango, though it continues to bear the nickname *xelajú* or *xela*. BB locates the old city at the foot of Santa Maria Volcano.

7849. *Ch u va Tz'aq* 'before the fort' is the modern Momostenango (perhaps Nahuatl *momotzenango* 'place of the lords of the rampart'). FX says *Guatemala*.

7850. *Tzolah Chee* 'willow tree' is the modern Santa Maria Chiquimula. FX says this is Momostenango. BB adds "... having also the Mexican name *Xomacac* ..." (p. 319). The tree has been identified as *Salix chilensis* (Wauchope, 1948, p. 50). It is used in medicine for fevers.

They hated Blood
 And made war on him.
 He really broke
 And shattered
 The canyons,
 The towns of the Rabinals,
 Fire Trees
 And White Earths,
 And they were collapsing
 And bowing, all the tribes.
 Until they supported him
 Blood nearly killed them.
 One division
 Or two divisions more
 And all of them would have been tributary.
 The towns fell and took up the tumpline
 Before Blood
 And 8 Monkey.
 The lineages came to be oppressed;
 They were beaten with sticks.
 Nothing their day,
 Nothing their birth became.
 Only obsidian
 Was the shattering of the towns.
 Suddenly it would begin to rip open
 The edge of the land
 Like the striking of lightning
 That splits rocks.
 In their fright
 The tribes prostrated themselves at once
 Before the incense tree
 At the town marker,
 So that today
 It is a mountain of stones.

7861 ff. FX, whose translation of the next 30 lines is badly garbled, says 'and the soldiers of Blood got very far, and one or two divisions who didn't bring tribute were subjugated. He collected the tributes and they brought them before Blood. . .'

7862. The Annals of the Cakchiquels reports:

And then they reigned
 Who are our grandfathers:
 1 Storm
 And 7 Monkey
 And they seized
 And took
 Power
 And majesty.
 They came to lordship then
 While there ruled
 The lord
 Blood,

Are x r ixovah Kiq'ab
 X u ban labal.
 Qitzih vi x qahik
 X paxik
 U zivan,
 U tinamit Rabinaleb,
 Q'aq' Chekeleb,
 Zaq Ulevab.
 X uleyik
 7860 X paqayik r onohel amaq'. 7860
 Q'a x toq'e *
 Chi naht u kamizah Kiq'ab.*
 Hu ch'ob,
 Ka ch'ob ta chik
 Ma vi k u qam u patan chi r ech r onohel.*
 X qah u tinamit x u qam u patan
 Ch u vach Kiq'ab
 Cauizimah.
 X e 'ok chinamit x e lotz'ik,*
 7870 X e kaq'ik chi chee. 7870
 Ma ha bi ki q'ih
 Ma ha bi k alaxik x uxik.
 Xa cha
 Mi q'ohe paxibal tinamit.
 Hu zuq chi hixitahik *
 U chi 'ulev
 Kehe ri chi q'ozin ka kulaha
 Ch u paxih abah.
 Chi xibinik
 7880 Libah chi ch elah amaq' 7880
 Ch u vach q'ol chee *
 R etal tinamit
 R umal vakamik
 Hun huyub abah.

Who took pity on the face of the Bats
 And Woodpeckers . . .
 . . . Truly hot
 Burned then
 The lord
 Blood
 When there reigned
 Our grandfathers
 1 Storm
 And 7 Monkey.
 Truly they terrified;
 They were valiant . . .

(Villacorta, 1936, pp. 228-9)

7865. SJ has *can* for *qam*.
 7869. BB and SJ have *chi munil* for *chinamit*.
 7875. The MS has *zu* for *zuq*.
 7881. The incense tree (*q'ol chee*) has not been identified.

The Fourth Creation

A little more

And you couldn't squeeze by,
As though it were chopped
With an axe.

There is a place there on the coast
Called The Mats.

It is clear today.

All the people who pass by can see
The marker,

The manhood of Blood.

Nothing killed him,

And nothing defeated him.

Truly he was a hero,

And all the tribes took up the tumpline.

And then when all the lords had conferred

They went out to block off

The back of the canyon,

The back of the town.

Fallen then were the towns

Of all the tribes.

LXXX

And then came guards,

Soldier watchers,

When they then made watchmen of the lineages

Living in the hills.

"If they come back,

Then come in to live

In the town,

The city," they said.

When all the lords had reached agreement

Then they went to their posts.

"As though it were a wall,

And like a jealous lineage,

So also our rampart,

Our fortress will be.

This then our courage,

Our manhood will be,"

Said all the lords.

Then they went to their posts,

Each one

In his lineage,

7885. BX omit *x*.

7886. BX omit *x*; BB has *q'alatahik*; FX reads *q'atoh* 'destroy'.

7890. Mayanized Pipil from *petlatl* 'mat'. Perhaps this is the modern Chipó in Suchitepequez, or Popóya, a little farther east in Escuintla.

7892. The MS has *icovi*.

X zkakin chik *

Ma vi x q'atahik *

Kehe ri x choy

Chi 'ikah r umal.

Chila q'o vi pa tak'ah

7890 Petatayub u bi.*

Q'alah vakamik.

Ka r il r onohel vinq k e 'iq'ovik *

R etal

R achihihil Kiq'ab.

Ma ha bi x kam vi

Ma pu ha bi x ch'akatah vi.

Qitzih vi chi 'achih.

X u qam q'ut u patan r onohel amaq'.

Ta x e naohin q'ut ahavab k onohel

7900 Ta x beek q'atey

R ih zivan

R ih tinamit.

X qahinak ok u tinamit

R onohel amaq'.

7890

7900

LXXX

Kate q'ut ta r elik varanel,*

Ilol ah labal.

Ta x ki ban q'ut u vachinel chinamit *

Laqabey huyub.*

"Ve chi pe chik

Ta ch ul u laqabeh

U tinamit

Amaq'," x e ch'a

Ta x ki kuch ki naoh k onohel ahavab

Ta x el ki vaban.

"Kehe ri qa keho

Kehe pu q'aq'a chinamit

Kehe nay pu qa tz'alam

Qa q'ox tun ch uxik.

Are chik q oyoval

Q achihihilal ta ch ux ok,"

X e ch'a k onohel ahavab.

Ta x e 'elik u vaban

Huhun

Chi chinamit

7910

7920

7905-8. FX gives 'then there went to the frontiers sentinels who were to take care of war and they founded on their mountains imitation towns'. This is only vaguely in touch with the text.

7907. The MS has *ba* for *ban*; BX omit *u*.

7908. The MS has *huyab*.

As rivals		K'ulelay	
To the soldiers.		R ech ah labal.	
And then they took their leave		Ta x e pixabax q'ut	
And they went out		Ta x e be puch	
As guards		Vaban	
Living in the mountains of the tribes.	7930	Laqabey u huyubal amaq'.	7930
"You are to go on account of our mountains again.		"Ch i beek r umal qa huyubal chik.	
Do not be afraid.		M i xibih iv ib.	
If there are still soldiers		Ve q'o chik ah labal	
Who still come after you,		Ch ul chik iv uq	
Killing you,		Ta x kamizay iv e	
Quickly send for me to come and kill them,"		Anim ch ulibih chi be nu ka kamizah,"	
Blood then said to them.		X ch'a q'ut Kiq'ab chi k ech	
When all their faces had been instructed		Ta x e pixabaxik k onohel vach *	
By the Captain		R uq Q'alel	
And Nobleman,	7940	Ah Tzik Vinaq.*	7940
Then they went along the edge of the knife,		Ta x beyiheyik ri 'u chi cha *	
The edge of the rope, as it is called.		U chi q'aam ch u ch'axik.	
Then they scattered themselves, the grandfathers		Ta x paxin r ib u mam	
And fathers		U qahav ri	
Of all the Quiche people.		R onohel K'iche vinaq.	
They were on each mountain,		Q'o pa huhun chi huyub	
Just as guardians of the mountain		Xa chahal huyub	
And just as guardians		Xa pu chahal *	
Of knife		Cha,	
And rope;	7950	Q'aam,	7950
As guardians		Chahal	
And soldiers when they went.		Labal puch ta x beek.	
None was to have his dawn		Ma na hun ta zaqir vi	
And none was to have his god.		Ma nay puch hun ta 'u kabavil.	
They were just blocking off the back of the town.		Xa q'atey r ih tinamit.	
Then they all came:		Ta x elik r onohel:	
The people of Nettles,		Ah u vi La,	
The people of the Rapids,		Ah ch Ulimal,*	
White River,		Zaqi Ya,*	
Deer Dance,	7960	Xahobal Keh,*	7960
Plank,		Chi Temah,*	
Eighteen,		Vahxaq Lahuh,*	
And the people of 2 Leg,		R uq chik Ah Kaab r Aqan,*	
Obsidian Fire at Hunter,		Ch'abi Q'aq' chi Hun Ah Pu,*	
And Pouring River,		R uq Ah Maq' A,	

7938. Omitted by FX.

7940-54. No separation was to be tolerated, especially not religious.

7941-2. FX has 'archers and bowmen', BB 'the chiefs-of-spears and the chiefs-of-slings'.

7948-51. The MS has *ch'ahal* for *chahal*.7958. BB has *Chutimal*. Chulimal is near Chichicastenango. See note to line 8054.7959. *Zaqi Ya* is near Chichicastenango.7960. Near Chichicastenango. The MS has *xahba quich*.

7961. Location unknown.

7962. Perhaps near Chichicastenango. The MS has *vahxa*; FX has *Alexyocho*, presumably *dieciocho*.

7963. Near San Sebastian Lemoa.

7964. The MS has *cabi* for *chabi*. It has been suggested that this is Fuego Volcano, but that seems geographically out of context here. FX has *Chavicac*.

The people of Xoy Rock,
The people of Plaster River,
The people of Firewood River,
The people of Hot Springs,
The people of Under 10 (Deer),
Valleys

And mountains,
They came watching the soldiers,
Guardians of the land,
When they were sent by Blood
And 8 Monkey,
Counsellor

And Step House Counsellor,
And the Captain
And Nobleman.

And four lords they sent out
And they watched the soldiers.
And Blood

And 8 Monkey were the names
Of the lords before the Kaveks.

There were two.

Death was the name
Of the lord before the Great-Houses,
And Armadillo Droppings was the name
Of the lord of the Lord Quiche.

And these are the names
Of the lords

Whom they summoned
And sent messengers for

When their born children,

Their engendered sons went

To the mountains,

Each to his mountain.

And then later on there came captives

And there came prisoners

Before Blood

And 8 Monkey

And the Captain

And Nobleman.

They were again making war on the edge of the
knife,

The edge of the rope.

They were captured again,

7970

7980

7990

8000

Ah Xoy Abah,*

Ah Zahkaba Ha,

Ah Ziya Ha,*

Ah Miq'in A,

Ah xe Lahuh,

Tak'ahal

Huyub.*

Ri x elik varay labal

Chahal ulev

Ta x beek r umal Kiq'ab

Cahuizimah

Ah Pop

Ah Pop Qam Haa

Q'alel

Ah Tzik Vinaq.

E kahib chi 'ahavab x e taqonik *

X e varan puch ah labal.

Kiq'ab

Cahuizimah u bi

Ahav ch u vach Qavekib.

E kaib.

Keema 'u bi

Ahav ch u vach Ni-Hayib,

Achaq Iboy q'ut u bi

Ahav ch u vach Ahav K'iche.*

Are q'ut ki bi

Ahav ri

X e taqonik

X e zamahelan puch

Ta x e beek k al

Ki q'ahol

Pa huyub,

Pa huhun chi huyub.

X be na q'u nabe x ul na kanab

X ul na pu teleche

Ch u vach Kiq'ab

Cahuizimah

Q'alel

Ah Tzik Vinaq.

X ki ban chi vi labal ri 'u chi cha

U chi q'aam.

X e kanab chik,

7970

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7990

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7966. Xoy is of uncertain meaning. It occurs also in *chi Xoy*, the major river of the northern highlands. The place here is the modern Joyabaj. BB reads *xol abah* 'between the rocks'; FX has *Xoyabab*.

7968. Identified as Santa Catarina Ixtahuacan; FX has *Ahziyabah*. The town was visited and studied by Scherzer (1857).

7972. Omitted by FX.

7981. BX have y for e.

7990. BX omit *Ahav*. BB points out that Death does appear later (line 8491) whereas Armadillo Droppings does not. The latter may well have been the Chief Death of line 8543, here called by a nickname to avoid confusion.

They were imprisoned again. They had been heroes again, Those who were watching and turned them in, And they grew And were much remembered by the lords When they came to turn over their captives And all their prisoners. And so that is when it was agreed By the lords Counsellor, Step House Counsellor, Captain And Nobleman, And then came The decision: "Just take The very first there may be When their rank Comes to (that of) the guardian of the lineage." "I am Counsellor; I am Step House Counsellor, The counsellor ranks. And coming next to yours, You are Lord Captain, The rank will be," All the lords said then When they took their decision. And so likewise did the Branches And Seers. Equal in face Were the three divisions of Quiche. When they had done the arresting They titled The first of their born children, Their engendered sons. And thus was the decision taken, And it was not here, Quiche that was taken, But the names of the mountains that were taken. By their first born children And engendered sons.	8010	X e telechen chik. E 'achih x e 'ux chik Ri 'e vaban x e yaik, X e k'iyar q'ut K'i chi q'ut ki k'uxilal k umal ahavab. Ta ch ul ki ya ki kanab Ki teleche r onohel. Kate q'ut ta x kuch naoh K umal ahavab Ah Pop Ah Pop Qam Haa Q'alel Ah Tzik Vinaq, Ta x el K u naoh. "Xa qa chapa K'i nabe chi q'ohe Ta q eqalem Vachinel chinamit ch ok vi." "In Ah Pop. In Ah Pop Qam Haa, Ah Pop chi r eqaleh vi * Ch ok chi q'ut av ech.* At Ahav Q'alel Q'alel r eqalem x ch uxik,"* X e ch'a q'ut r onohel ahavab Ta x qam ki naoh. Xa vi q'u kehe x u ban ok Tamub * Ilokab. Hunam vach Ox ch'ob chi K'iche. Ta x ban chaponik X ki q'obizah U nabe k al Ki q'ahol.* Kehe q'ut u qamik naoh Ma q'u chiri X chap vi K'iche, Q'o 'u bi huyub x chap vi.* U nabe 'al Q'ahol	8010
	8020		8020
	8030		8030
	8040		8040

8027. BB and SJ have *ve* for *vi*.8028. The MS has *choc chicu ave*. BB obviously did not know the word *eqalem* 'rank'.8030. BX omit *q'alel* here; the MS has *i calem*.8033. The MS has *o* for *ok*.

8040. This makes explicit the undercurrent of this opaque passage. The "born children and engendered

sons"—in this context the tributary peoples—were given titles in the Quiche system, the rank of the captive being carefully matched to that of the resident conqueror: Roman citizenship with a wardship clause. The result, as BB remarks, was both to assimilate the conquered and to control the conquerors.

8044. BB has *chup* for *chap*.

The Fourth Creation

And then they sent for all of them on their several
mountains
To come to one place.

8050

LXXXI

Under Balax,
Under Qamaq' is the name of the mountain they
took
When they entered their ranks.
There in The Rapids it was done.

LXXXII

These then are the titles they took
And they are known:
Twenty Captains,
Twenty Counsellors
Were taken by the Counsellor
And Step House Counsellor
And by the Captain
And Nobleman.
All the Captains entered their ranks
And the Counsellors,
Eleven
Great Chairmen,
The Captain of the Lords,
The Captain of the White Winds,
The Captain of the Knights,
The Counsellor of the Knights,
The Mason of the Knights,
The Head of the Knights,
The names the lords entered
When they took titles.
And they named them after their benches,
After their pillows.
They were the firstborn children
And engendered sons of the Quiche people,
Watchers
And listeners over
The edge of the knife,
The edge of the rope,
A wall sealing the ramparts
And fortress behind the Quiche.
And so they did the same, the Branches
And Seers,
They took prisoners

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8080

Ta x e taq q'ut r onohel q'o pa huhun chi huyub
Xa hun x e kuch vi.

8050

LXXXI

Xe Balax
Xe Qamaq' u bi huyub x e chap vi,*
Ta x ok ki qalem
Chiri ch Ulimal x ban vi.*

LXXXII

Va q'ute ki q'obik ki chapik
K etaxik puch:
Hu vinaq Q'alel
Hu vinaq Ah Pop
X chapik r umal Ah Pop,
Ah Pop Qam Haa,
R umal puch Q'alel,
Ah Tzik Vinaq.
X ok k eqalem r onohel Q'alel
Ah Pop,
Hu lahuh
Nim Ch'okoh,
Q'alel Ahav,
Q'alel Zaq Iq',
U Q'alel Achih,
R Ah Pop Achih,
R Ah Tz'alam Achih,
U Tzam Achih,
Ki bi 'achihab x okik
Ta x e q'obik.
X e biinah puch ch u vi ki tem,*
Ch u vi ki ch'akat.
E 'u nabe r al
U q'ahol K'iche vinaq,
Ilol r ech
Ta'ol r ech
U chi cha
U chi q'aam,
Kehoh tz'apib tz'alam
Q'ox tun chi r ih K'iche.
Xa vi q'u kehe x u ban ok Tamub,*
Illokab.
X u chapo

8060

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8052. FX has *Camax*.

8054. BB comments, "The name of this locality, formerly celebrated in the annals of Quiche, is lost today; some Indians directed me to some ruins of the name of

Chulimal between *Lemoa*, *Chichicastenango* and the foot of the mountains of Totonicapan."

8075-6. That is, after the towns they ruled.

8085. The MS has *o* for *ok*.

And they made titles
 For the firstborn child,
 The engendered son
 Who was on each mountain.
 And this is the origin
 Of the Captains
 And Counsellors,
 The ranks
 On each mountain today.
 Thus they came
 When they came
 After the Counsellor
 And Step House Counsellor,
 And after the Captain
 And Lord Nobleman they came then.

LXXXIII

Here then we shall recount
 The names of the houses of the gods.
 Only actually the house was named
 For the name of the god.
 "The Great Building of Storm" was the name of
 the building
 And house of Storm of the Kaveks,
 And "Lord Jaguar" was the name of the building
 And house of Lord Jaguar of the
 Great-Houses.
 And "Fire Peak" in turn was the name of the
 building
 And house of the god of the Lord Quiche.
 "Dripping House" is still visible;
 "Falling House" is still its name.
 They were great buildings
 Where there was an idol
 Worshipped by the Quiche lords
 And worshipped by all the tribes.
 The tribes came first to burn offerings before Storm,
 And then when they had revered 8120
 The Counsellor
 And Step House Counsellor,
 Then they came to give their quetzal feathers,
 Their tribute before the lord.
 He was still the lord,
 And it was still he
 Whom they nourished
 And supported:

8092. BB has *xenabik*.

8114. BB identifies this as San Andres Sajcabaja.

8116. Literally, 'a stone'. BB makes much of this,

X u q'obizah puch
 U nabe r al
 8090 U q'ahol, 8090
 Q'o pa huhun chi huyub.
 Are q'ut u xenahik *
 Q'alel
 Ah Pop,
 R eqalem
 Pa huhun chi huyub vakamik.
 Kehe r elik ri
 Ta x e 'elik
 Chi r ih Ah Pop,
 8100 Ah Pop Qam Haa, 8100
 Chi r ih puch Q'alel
 Ah Tzik Vinaq x el vi.

LXXXIII

Are q'ut x chi qa biih chik
 U be r ochoch kabavil.
 Xa vi xere x u biinah r ochoch ri
 U bi kabavil.
 Nimaq Tzak Tohil u bi tzak
 R ochoch Tohil r ech Qavekib.
 Avilix q'ut u be tzak
 R ochoch Avilix r ech Ni-Hayibab. 8110
 Haka Vitz chi q'ut u bi tzak
 R ochoch u kabavil Ahav K'iche.
 Tz'utu Haa k il na,
 Qahoba Haa 'u bi chik.*
 Nimaq tzak
 X q'ohe vi 'abah *
 X q'ihiloxik r umal ahavab K'iche
 Q'ihiloxik puch r umal r onohel amaq'.
 Ch ok na 'u k'atoh amaq' nabe ch u vach ri Tohil
 Kate q'ut ta ch u q'ihila chik 8120
 Ah Pop
 Ah Pop Qam Haa
 Kate ch ul ki ya ki q'uq'
 Ki patan ch u vach Ahav.
 Are 'Ahav chik
 Are chi puch
 Ki tzukun
 Ki koon,

but it appears to be the common way of referring to
 carved stone idols.

The Fourth Creation

The Counsellor
 And Step House Counsellor.
 Many towns were destroyed.
 They were great lords.
 They were spirit people,
 Spirit lords,
 Quetzal Serpent
 And Chief Sweatbath.
 Spirit lords too were Blood
 And 8 Monkey.
 They knew
 Whether war would come.
 Clearly they saw
 Everything they saw,
 Whether death,
 Whether famine,
 Whether fighting would come.
 They certainly knew.
 And there was a crystal for it;
 There was a Book.
 The Counsel Book they called it.
 It wasn't just that they were lords.
 Great was their essence,
 And great were their fasts.
 These were sacred buildings,
 And sacred was the lordship to them.
 For a long time then they fasted;
 They prostrated themselves before their god.
 This then was their fast:
 180 days they fasted,
 And 180 they prostrated themselves
 And burned offerings.
 260 days more they fasted,
 And 260 more they prostrated themselves.
 They burned offerings before Storm
 And before their god.
 Only mamey,
 Only soursop,
 Only custard apple could they suck,
 And they had no corn to eat.
 And if they prostrated themselves 340 days,
 Or fasted for 340,

Ah Pop
 8130 Ah Pop Qam Haa,
 X qazan k'i tinamit.
 E nima 'ahavab.
 E naval tak vinaq,
 Naval ahav
 Ri Q'uq' Kumatz *
 Qo Tuha.
 Naval ahav q'u ri Kiq'ab
 Cahuizimah.
 K etam ve
 8140 Labal chi banik
 Q'alah chi ki vach
 R onohel chi k ilo: *
 Ve kamik
 Ve vaih
 Ve ch'aoh chi banik.
 Xax k etam vi.
 Q'o q'ut ilobal r ech,*
 Q'o vuh.
 Popol Vuh u bi k umal.
 8150 Ma na kehe 'e 'ahavab.
 Nim ki q'oheyik
 Nim nay puch ki mevahik.
 Are loq'obal tz'aq
 Loq'obal pu 'ahavarem k umal.
 Nahatik chik x e mevahik,
 X e qahabik ch u vach ki kabavil.
 Va q'ute ki mevahibal:
 Beleh vinaq k e mevahik,*
 Hu beleh q'ut k e qahabik
 8160 K e k'atonik.
 Ox lahuu vinaq chik ki mevahibal,
 Ox lahuu chi q'ut k e qahabik.*
 K e k'atonik ch u vach Tohil,
 Ch u vach pu ki kabavil.
 Xa tulul
 Xa 'ahache
 Xa q'inom chi ki loob; *
 Are ma ha bi va chi ki veeh.
 Ve q'ut vuq lahuu vinaq k e qahabik,*
 8170 Vuq lahuu k e mevahik.*

8135-6. The MS repeats these two lines.

8142. BX have *ch* for *chi*.

8147. Crystals were part of the divination equipment; see note to line 402.

8158. *Vinaq* has generally been read 'man' here but it is clearly the numeral 20. The figures remain poetic and religious: 180 days is a half-year (*tun*), 260 is a full cycle (*poval*), and 340 is a *poval* plus a half-*tun*. Landa

comments (Tozzer, 1941, p. 152): "those who began these fasts did not dare to break them because they believed some calamity to themselves or to their houses would befall them."

8162. The MS has *lahu* for *lahuh*.

8167. The MS has *loo* for *loob*.

8169. BB omits *q'ut*.

8170. BB and SJ read *uve* for *vuq*.

They didn't eat.
 Truly they carried out great vows.
 This was the sign
 Of the spirit of the lords.
 And also they couldn't sleep with any woman then;
 They kept themselves all by themselves.
 They fasted
 And just stayed in the house of the god.
 Just worshipping every day,
 Just burning offerings, 8180
 And just prostrating themselves was all they did.
 They just stayed there
 By dark
 Or daylight.
 Their hearts just cried.
 And their bellies just cried.
 Then they prayed for light
 And life
 Of their born children,
 Their engendered sons, 8190
 And also their lordship.
 They bowed down their faces before heaven.
 This then is their prayer before their god
 When they prayed.
 And this is the cry of their hearts
 Here:

LXXXIV

"Hail thou of the five days,
 Thou 1 Leg,
 Thou Heart of Heaven
 And Earth,
 Thou giver of what is yellow
 And what is green,
 And thou giver of daughters
 And sons:
 Drip down,
 Pour down
 Thy greenness,
 Thy yellowness;
 Give thou, pray, life
 And sustenance
 For my children
 And my sons
 That they may multiply,
 That they may continue
 As nourishers to thee
 And supporters to thee,
 Calling upon thee in the paths

8197. FX reads *atoob* 'beauty'.

Ma vi k e vaik.
 Qitzih vi chi nima 'avazinik chi ki bano.
 Are r etal
 Ki q'oheyik e 'ahavab
 R uq q'ut ma ha bi 'ixox chi var q'ut
 Xa ki tukel chi ki chahih k ib.
 K e mevahik
 Xa pa r ochoch kabavil k e q'ohe vi.
 Hu tak q'ih xa q'ihilonik
 Xa k'atonik 8180
 Xa pu qahabik chi ki bano.
 Xa vi chiri 'e q'o vi
 X q'eq
 Zaqirik
 Xa ch x oq' ki k'ux,
 Xa pu ch x oq' ki pam.
 Ta k e tz'ononik chi r ech u zaq
 U k'azilem
 K al
 Ki q'ahol 8190
 Chi r e nay puch k ahavarem.
 Chi ki paqaba ki vach chi kah.
 Va q'ute ki tz'onobal ch u vach ki kabavil
 Ta k e tz'ononik.
 Are q'ut r oq'eh ki k'ux,
 Va:

LXXXIV

"Akarok at oob u q'ih,*
 At Hu r Aqan,
 At u K'ux Kah,
 8200 Ulev, 8200
 At yaol r ech q'anal
 Raxal,
 At pu yaol mial,
 Q'ahol:
 Ch a tziloh,*
 Ch a maq'ih ulok
 A raxal,
 A q'anal.
 Ch a ya ta 'u k'azeyik
 8210 Vinaqirik 8210
 V al
 Nu q'ahol
 Chi poq' tah
 Chi vinaqir tah
 Tzukul av e
 Kool av e
 Zik'iy av e pa be,

8205. BX have *ziloh*.

The Fourth Creation

And roads,
At the rivers
And canyons,
Under the trees
And bushes.
Give them daughters
And sons.
Let there be no disgrace
Or captivity,
Fighting
Or perversion.
Let no demons come behind them
Or before them.
Let them not fall;
Let them not be wounded;
Let them not fornicate;
Let them not be sentenced;
Let them not fall below the road
Or above the road.
Let nothing afflict
Or assail them
Behind
Or before.
Put them on the green path,
The green road.
Let nothing disgrace them
Or imprison them
By thy misfortune
Or thy enchantment.
Good be
Their essence
As nourishers to thee,
Supporters to thee,
Before thy mouth,
Before thy face,
Thou Heart of Heaven,
Thou Heart of Earth,
Thou Shrouded Glory,
And thou, Storm,
Lord Jaguar,
Fire Peak,
Womb of heaven,
Womb of earth,
For the four creations,
And the four destructions.
Let there just be light;
Let there just be peace in them

	Pa hok	
	Pa be ya	
8220	Pa zivan	8220
	Xe chee	
	Xe q'aam.	
	Ch a ya ki mial	
	Ki q'ahol.	
	Ma ta ha bi 'il	
	Tz'ap	
	Yaan	
	K'exo.*	
	Ma ta ch ok q'ax tokonel chi k ih	
8230	Chi ki vach.	8230
	M e pahik,	
	M e zokotahik,	
	M e hoxovik,	
	M e q'atovik,	
	M e qahik r ekem be	
	R ah zik be.	
	Ma ta ha bi paq'	
	Tox k'om	
	Chi k ih	
8240	Chi ki vach.	8240
	K e 'ayatah pa raxa be	
	Pa raxa hok.	
	Ma ta ha bi k il	
	Ki tz'ap	
	A kuvil	
	Av itzimal.*	
	Utz tah	
	Ki q'oheyik	
	Tzukul av e	
8250	Kool av e	8250
	Ch a chi	
	Ch a vach	
	At u K'ux Kah,	
	At u K'ux Ulev,	
	At Pizom Q'aq'al,	
	At puch Tohil,	
	Avilix,	
	Haka Vitz,	
	Pam kah,	
8260	U pam ulev	8260
	K ah tzuq *	
	K ah xukut	
	Xa ta zaq *	
	Xa ta 'amaq'	

8228-33. FX has 'let them not be deceived nor stumble nor fall' for these six lines.

8246. FX has 'by thy hair'!

8261. BB reads *tzac*; FX has 'and four corners'.
8263. Omitted by FX.

Before thy mouth
And before thy face,
Oh thou,
God."
Thus the lords did
When they fasted
In the 180,
The 260,
And 340.
Many fast days their hearts cried
Over their born children,
Their engendered sons,
And over their wives
And children
When they did their service,
Each of the lords.
This was the price of light
And life
And the price of lordship.
This was the lordship
Of the Counsellor,
Step House Counsellor,
Captain
And Lord Nobleman.
They were in pairs when they lamented;
They changed themselves around
For the worship of the tribes
And all the Quiche people.
Each one
Came then
Under the word
And under
The nourishing
And supporting.
Just under the word
It was just done likewise
By the Branches
And Seers
Together with the Rabinals,
Fire Trees,
Bird House People,
Sweatbath House,
Speaker House.
Each one of them came then
When it served its month in Quiche.
Then it was done by all of them.
But it wasn't only thus that they ruled;

U pam ch a chi
Ch a vach
At
Kabavil."
Kehe q'ut ri 'ahavab
8270 Ta k e mevahik 8270
Ch u pam ri belch vinaq,
Ox lahuu vinaq,
Vuq lahuu vinaq puch.
K'i mevaih q'ih ch oq' ki k'ux
Ch u vi k al
Ki q'ahol
Ch u vi puch r onohel ixoq
Alquval,
Ta x ki ban ki patan
8280 Huhun chi 'ahavab. 8280
Are loq'obal zaq
K'azilem
Loq'obal puch ahavarem.
Are r ahavarem
Ah Pop
Ah Pop Qam Haa
Q'alel
Ah Tzik Vinaq.
E kakab ta k e 'oq'ik.
8290 K e halov k ib 8290
Chi r e q'alixik amaq'
R uq r onohel K'iche vinaq.
Xa hun
X el vi
U xe tzih
U xe puch
Tzuku
Kooh.
Xa vi 'u xe tzih
8300 Xa vi kehe k u bano 8300
Tamub
Ilokab
R uq Rabinaleb,
Q'aq' Chekeleb,
Ah Tz'ikina Haa,
Tuhala Haa,
Uch'aba Haa.
Xa hun ch e 'el vi
Ta x ik'in chiri K'iche.*
8310 Ta x u ban r ech r onohel. 8310
Ma na xa ki kehe x e 'ahavarik.

8309. Startlingly, the reference is to the lunar month rather than the 20-day month, though the usage may be

figurative. The line is omitted by FX.

The Fourth Creation

It wasn't just that they appointed them to donate
Nourishers to them,
Supporters to them.
Their fasting was a penance they made,
And so that it would not be in vain
That they had bewitched
And stolen their lordship,
Their glory,
Their majesty, 8320
And also it was not just that they had beaten the
canyons
And towns,
The little tribes
And great tribes.
A great payment
They gave.
There came turquoise;
There came silver;
And there came plaster handles,
And handles covered 8330
With jade,
With jewels,
And there came dove feathers
(And quetzal feathers),
Sitting
Or standing,
The tribute of all the tribes
Came before the spirit lords,
Quetzal Serpent
And Chief Sweatbath 8340
And before Blood
And 8 Monkey,
The Counsellor
And Step House Counsellor,
Captain
And Lord Nobleman.
It was not just a little that they did,
And it was also not just a few more tribes they
destroyed.
Many more divisions of tribes
Came to serve Quiche, 8350
And suffering they received
And were persecuted by them.
It was not suddenly that their glory was created
Until Quetzal Serpent was the root of greatness in
the lordship.

Ma na xa x ki kaq kochih *
Tzukul k e,
Kool k e.
Xa ta ki vain u k'aha x ki bano.
Ma pu xa loq tah *
X k itz'uba *
X k eleq'ah k ahavarem
Ki q'aq'al,
Ki tepeval. 8320
Ma nay pu xa ta kehe x qah u zivan

U tinamit
Ch'uti 'amaq',
Nima 'amaq'
Nim r ahil
X ki yao.
X ul xit
X ul puvaq
X ul puch zahkab r aqan *
Tuvik r aqan 8330
Chi q'uval
Chi yamanik *
X ul puch raxon
(Q'uq'.)*
Kubul,
Ch'akatik *
U patan r onohel amaq'
X ul chi ki vach naval ahavab
Q'uq' Kumatz
Qo Tuha, 8340
Ch u vach puch Kiq'ab
Cahuizimah
Ri 'Ah Pop
Ah Pop Qam Haa
Q'alel
Ah Tzik Vinaq.
Ma vi xa ch'utin x ki bano.
Ma nay pu xa ta zkakin chi 'amaq' x ki qazah.

K'iya ch'ob chi 'amaq'
X ul u patan K'iche, 8350
Q'axiqol q'ut x qam vi
X yaq'ex vi k umal.
Ma vi 'atan x vinaqirik ki q'aq'al
Q'a Q'uq' Kumatz u xe nimal chi 'ahavarem.

8312. FX says 'and they did not covet the gifts of'.

8316. BB reads *loq'oh* 'buy'.

8317. BB and SJ read *zquitzubu*.

8329. BB has *quhcab*; SJ has *cah, cab*; omitted by FX.

8332. Omitted by FX.

8334. Poetic *scansion* requires the insertion of *q'uq'* here though it is *missing* from the MS.

8336. Omitted by FX.

Thus then was the beginning of the growth
 And then the growth of Quiche.
 And here again we shall enumerate the generations
 of lords,
 With the names of all the lords, which we shall
 repeat.

LXXXV

This then is the descent,
 The order
 Of lordship
 In all of their illustriousness.
 Jaguar Quiche,
 Jaguar Night,
 Nought
 And Wind Jaguar
 Were our first grandfathers,
 Our first fathers
 When the sun appeared
 And the moon and stars appeared. 8370
 This then is the descent,
 The order of the lordship,
 Which we shall begin there,
 Right at the root.
 Paired off the lords entered
 When they entered,
 When each generation of lords was dying,
 The grandfathers,
 And the rulers in the town,
 All of them matched the lords. 8380
 This then kept watch on the face of the
 corresponding lords;
 This then kept watch on the face of each of the
 corresponding Quiche lords.

LXXXVI

Jaguar Quiche
 Was the root of the Kaveks.
 Chief Two
 Was the second generation next to Jaguar Quiche.
 Jaguar Chief Imitator began the Counsellorship
 And the third generation,
 While Chief Sweatbath
 And White Life were the fourth generation. 8390
 Quetzal Serpent
 And Chief Sweatbath,
 The root of the spirit lords,

8356. BX omit *ri*.8381-2. FX has 'and here will be told about each one
 by himself.

Kehe q'ut u tikarik u nimarik
 Ri 'u nimarik puch K'iche.*
 Are chi q'ut x chi qa cholov leel ahavab
 R uq ki bi k onohel ahavab x chi qa biih chik.

LXXXV

Vae q'ute 'u leel
 U tazel 8360
 Ahavarem
 Chi r onohel ki zaqiribem:
 Balam Kitze
 Balam Aqab
 Mahuq'utah
 Iq'i Balam,
 Nabe qa mam
 Nabe qa qahav
 Ta x vachin q'ih
 X vachin ik', ch'umil. 8370
 Vae q'ute 'u leel,
 U tazel ahavarem
 X chi qa tikiba ulok
 K'i ch u xe.
 Q'ulaq'uh chi r okik ahavab
 Ta ch okik
 Ta chi kamiheyik hu tak le chi 'ahavab
 Ri mama
 R uq r ahaval chi tinamit
 R onohel chi huhun chi 'ahavab. 8380
 Vae q'ute x chi vachin u vach ch u huhunal ahavab,*
 Vae q'ute x chi vachin u vach huhun ch u huhunal
 ahavab K'iche.

LXXXVI

Balam Kitze
 U xenabal Qavekib.
 Qo Kaib
 U ka le chik Balam Kitze.
 Balam Qo Nache x tikiban Ah Popol *
 R ox le q'u ri
 Qo Tuha
 Iztayol u kah le.* 8390
 Q'uq' Kumatz
 Qo Tuha
 U xe naval ahav

8387. FX omits *x tikiban Ah Popol*. Also see note
 to line 4825.8390. The MS has *xtayub*.

The Fourth Creation

Were the fifth generation then.
 Mountain Prince
 And White Life were the sixth rank.
 Blood
 And 8 Monkey
 Were the seventh change of lordship,
 Spirits also. 8400
 Mountain Prince
 And White Life were the eighth generation.
 Grandfather
 And Mountain Prince were the ninth generation.
 8 Vine
 And Blood were the tenth generation of lords.
 7 Incense
 And Snake Mountain next were the eleventh rank
 of lords.
 3 Deer
 And 9 Dog were the twelfth generation. 8410
 And they it was who ruled when "The Sun" came:
 They were hung by the Castilian people.
 Grandfather
 And Mountain Prince
 Paid tribute before the Castilian people.
 They had already been engendered at the
 thirteenth generation of lords.
 Sir John of Rojas
 And Sir John Cortes
 Were the fourteenth generation of lords.
 They were engendered heirs 8420
 Of Grandfather
 And Mountain Prince.

R o l e x q'ohe vi.
 Tepepul *
 Iztayol chik u vaq taz.*
 Kiq'ab
 Cahuizimah
 U vuq hal ahavarem,
 Naval chi vi. 8400
 Tepepul
 Iztayol u vahxaq le.*
 Tecum *
 Tepepul u beleh le.
 Vahxaqib Q'aam *
 Kiq'ab q'ut u lahu le 'ahavab.*
 Vuqub Nooh
 Coatepec chik u hu lahu taz ahavab.*
 Oxib Keh
 Beleheb Tz'i 'u kaab lahu le 'ahavab.* 8410
 Are q'ut k e 'ahavarik ta x ul Tonatiuh; *
 X e hitz'axik r umal Castillan vinaq.*
 Tecum *
 Tepepul *
 X e patanihik ch u vach Castillan vinaq.
 Are x e q'aholan kan ok r ox lahu le 'ahavab.*
 Don Juan de Rojas *
 Don Juan Cortes
 U kah lahu le 'ahavab.*
 E q'aholaxel 8420
 R umal Tecum
 Tepepul.*

8395. *Tepepul*. I read Nahuatl *Tepepilli*. 'Great phallus' according to WC, who is given to sexual interpretations.

8396. The MS has *ztayul*; BX have *chi* for *chik*.

8402. The MS has *ztayub*.

8403. *Tecum* is translated 'stacked' by BB. *Tecul* is 'grandfather' in Nahuatl, a translation confirmed by the frequent addition of *u mam* to the name in other documents.

8405. The MS has *vahxaqui cam*. BB has '8 Vine'. *Malinalli* 'vine' is an Aztec day name, corresponding to *ey* 'tooth' in Quiche.

8406. The MS has *lahu*.

8408. The MS reads *cavatepech chic uhulahutax ahavab*.

8410. BX omit *ahavab*; the MS has *cablahu*.

8411. *Tonatiuh* 'the sun' was the Aztec nickname of Pedro de Alvarado, Cortes' blond lieutenant and the conqueror of Guatemala. The MS has *Donadiu*.

8412. They were burned alive on 4 *k'at*, March 9, 1524, according to the Annals of the Cakchiquels (Villa-

corta, 1936, p. 263).

8413. Presumably this is the "Tecum u Mam" who commanded the Quiche army against the Spanish in the fighting around Quezaltenango and was killed in the battle at *pa Chahil* in 1524. He has since become the major hero of the Indian resistance, the Cuauhtemoc of Guatemalan *indigenismo*.

8414. BB identifies this *Tepepul* with *Sequechul* (Nahuatl *Ce Quechol*, '1 Bird', from *quecholli* 'a bird of rich plumage'), who attempted rebellion, was seized and put on a ship which sank off Acapulco.

8416. The MS has *lahu*.

8417. The Tam Paper adds his Quiche name:

... Alvarado gave the title to 9 Jaguar
 On the death of Tecum, his father ...

Scherzer (in FX) mistranscribes *Julio* for *Juan* here and in the following line.

8419. The MS has *lahu* and omits *u*.

8422. And were allowed to keep some of their authority. They lived in Utatlan, despite its depopulation,

LXXXVII

And these are the generations,
 The ranks
 Of lordship
 Of the lords
 Counsellor
 And Step House Counsellor
 Before the Kaveks
 Of Quiche. 8430
 Here we shall tell further about the lineages;
 Here then are the great houses of each of the lords
 After the Counsellor
 And Step House Counsellor.
 These are the names of the nine lineages of the
 Kaveks,
 Nine great houses.
 These are the names of the rulers
 Of each great house.
 The Lord Counsellor had one great house.
 "Hidden House" was the name of the 8440
 great house.
 The Lord Step House,
 "Bird House" was the name of his great house.
 The Great Chairman of Kavek
 Had one great house.
 The Lord Storm
 Had one great house.
 The Lord Quetzal Serpent
 Had one great house.
 The Councilman in the Chair
 Had one great house. 8450
 The Overseer of Cotton and Bean Stores
 Had one great house.
 The Councilman on the Ball Court Walls
 Had appropriated one great house.
 The Mexican Majesties
 Had one great house.

LXXXVIII

And these were the nine lineages
 Of the Kaveks.
 Many their born children,

until 1558, when they moved into Santa Cruz Quiche. Although the names of subsequent kings are lost, the title appears to have been maintained into the 18th century.

8432. BX have *nima*.

8435. BX have *beheheb* and omit the rest of the line.

8441. BX omit *Ah Pop*.

8444. BB omits *u*.

LXXXVII

Are q'ut u leel
 U tazel
 Ahavarem
 Ri 'ahav
 Ah Pop
 Ah Pop Qam Haa
 Ch u vach Qavekib
 K'iche. 8430
 Are chi x chi qa biih chik r e chinamit
 Va chi q'ute nim haa r ech huhun chi 'ahavab *
 Chi r ih Ah Pop
 Ah Pop Qam Haa.
 Are 'u biinam vi beleheb chinamit chi Qavekib,*
 Beleheb u nim haa.
 Va tak u bi 'e r ahaval
 Huhun chi nim haa.
 Ahav Ah Pop hun u nim haa,
 Q'u Haa 'u bi nim haa, 8440
 Ahav Ah Pop Qam Haa.*
 Tz'ikina Haa 'u bi 'u nim haa.
 Nim Ch'okoh Qavek
 Hun u nim haa,*
 Ahav Ah Tohil
 Hun u nim haa,
 Ahav Ah Q'uq' Kumatz
 Hun u nim haa,
 Popol Vinaq chi T'uy
 Hun u nim haa, 8450
 Lol Met Keh Nay
 Hun u nim haa.
 Popol Vinaq pa Hom Tz'alatz'
 X kulexeba hun u nim haa,*
 Tepev Yaqui
 Hun u nim haa.

LXXXVIII

Are q'u ri beleheb chinamit
 Chi Qavekib.*
 Tzatz r al

8454. BB has *culxeba*; BX *k'uxe*; SJ *cuxeba*; FX *xeuxeba*.

8458 ff. This list disagrees with the previous list in two details: it promotes the Great Chairman from fifth place to third, and it identifies the Mother of the Step House (*u Chuch Q'am Haa*) as the Mexican Majesties (*Tepev Yaqui*). See line 7669 ff.

The Fourth Creation

Their engendered sons numbered
After the nine
Great houses.

LXXXIX

This then is for the Great-Houses:
Nine more great houses.
First we shall tell
The succession of the lordship.
All one is its root
Which began before
The root of day,
The root of light was created.

XC

Jaguar Night
Is first,
Honored grandfather,
And honored father.
Chief Acul
And Chief Acutec were the second generation.
Chief Chahuh
And Chief Painted House were the third
generation.
9 Deer
Was the fourth generation next.
Chief Sweatbath
Was the fifth generation lord.
And Monkey then
Was the sixth generation next.
And White Life then
Was the seventh generation lord.
Chief Sweatbath next then
Was the eighth rank of lordship.
9 Deer
Was the ninth rank,
And Death, as he was called, next
Was the tenth generation.
The Lord Chief Sweatbath
Was the eleventh generation.
Sir Christopher as he was called
Ruled before the face of the Castilian people.
Sir Peter of Robles
Is Lord Captain today.

8464. BX omit the second *chi*.

8468. The MS has *ch* for *chi*.

8479. The MS has *quih* for *queh*; FX has *quich*.

8483. BB has 'monkey river'.

8484. BB read *vuc*.

8460 U q'ahol ahilatal
Chi r ih beleheb
Chi nim haa.

LXXXIX

Va q'ute r ech Ni-Hayibab
Beleheb chi vi chi nim haa.*
Are nabe x chi qa biih
U leabal r ib ahavarem
Xa hun u xe
X chi tikar ch u vach *
U xe q'ih
U xe zaq chi vinaq.

8470

8460

8470

XC

Balam Aqab
Nabe
Mamaxel
Qahavixel.
Qo 'Acul
Qo 'Acutec u ka le.
Qo Chahuh
Qo Tz'iba Haa r ox le.

Beleheb Keh *

8480

8480

U kah le chik.

Qo Tuha

R o le 'ahav.

Baatz'a chi q'ut *

U vaq le chik.*

Iztayol chi q'ut

U vuq le 'ahav.

Qo Tuha chi vi *

U vahxaq taz ahavarem.

Beleheb Keh

8490

8490

U beleh taz.

Kame ch uch'ax chik *

U lahu le.*

Ahav Qo Tuha

U hu lahu le.

Don Christoval ch uch'axik

X ahavarik ch u vach Castillan vinaq.*

Don Pedro de Robles

Ahav Q'alel vakamik.

8487. BX read *Tiw* for *Tu*.

8491. The MS has *quema* for *came*. BB translates 'weaving river'.

8492. BB has *lah*; the MS has *lahu* for *lahuh*.

8496. The MS has *caxtilan* here.

XCI

And these are the mouths of all the lords,
 Successors to the Lord Captain.
 Here next we shall tell
 The ruler of each great house.
 The Lord Captain
 Is the first lord
 Before the Great-Houses.
 He had one great house.
 The Lord Nobleman
 Had one great house.
 The Lord Captain of the Step House
 Had one great house.
 The Great Step House
 Had one great house.
 The Mother of the Step House
 Had one great house.
 The Great Chairman of the Great-Houses
 Had one great house.
 The Lord of Lord Jaguar
 Had one great house.
 The Director
 Had one great house.
 The Great Overseer of Cotton and Giver of Flowers
 Had one great house.

8500

8510

8520

XCII

And these are the great houses
 Which were before the Great-Houses.
 They are called *then*
 The nine *lineages* of the Great-Houses, it is said.
 And many more were the lineages
 Of each of the lords.
 These are the first,
 Whose names we have told.

8530

XCIII

And this next
 Is for the Lord Quiche.
 This is its grandfather,
 Its father:
 Nought,
 The first man.
 Chief Lord was the name

8514. The MS repeats here:

Nima Q'am Haa,
Hun u nim haa.

This throws the count off. It is appropriately omitted from BB's text and is omitted here. The previous men-

XCI

Are q'u ri chi r onohel ahavab
 Elenaq chi r ih ri 'Ahav Q'alel.
 Are chik x chi qa biih
 R ahaval huhun chi nim haa.
 Ahav Q'alel
 U nabe 'ahav
 Ch u vach Ni-Hayibab
 Hun u nim haa.
 Ahav Ah Tzik Vinaq
 Hun u nim haa,
 Ahav Q'alel Qam Haa
 Hun u nim haa,
 Nima Qam Haa
 Hun u nim haa,
 U Chuch Qam Haa
 Hun u nim haa,*
 Nim Ch'okoh Ni-Hayibab *
 Hun u nim haa,
 Ahav Avilix
 Hun u nim haa,
 Yakolatam *
 Hun u nim haa,
 Nima Lol Met Yeol Tux *
 Hun u nim haa.

8500

8510

8520

XCII

Are q'ut nim haa
 Ri ch u vach Ni-Hayibab.
 Are 'u biinam vi
 Beleheb chinamit chi Ni-Hayibab ch uch'axik.
 K'iya tak q'ut u chinamital *
 Huhun chi k e 'ahavab.
 Are 'u nabe
 Ri mi x qa biih ki bi.

8530

XCIII

Are chi q'ut
 R ech Ahav K'iche.
 Va 'u mam
 U qahav
 Mahuq'utah
 Nabe vinaq.
 Qo 'Ahav u bi

tion of this lord is in the correct order; see line 7686.

8515. BB and SJ have *Ni-Hayib*.8519. BX have *Yokolatam*.

8521-2. Omitted by SJ.

8527. The MS has *chinamatal*.

The Fourth Creation

Of the second generation lord.
Young Snake
And Chief Pounded,
Chief No Medicine,
7 Corn,
Chief Death,
Chief Sick Panther,
Twenty
And Jaguar.

8540

U ka le 'ahav,
Q'aq' Laqan,*
Qo Kozom,*
Qo Mah Kun,*
Vuqub Ah,
Qo Kamel,
Qo Yaba Koh,*
Vinaq,
Bam.*

8540

XCIV

And these are the lords
Who were before the Lord Quiche.
These are their generations
And their ranks.
And these are the names of the lords here in the
great houses.
There were only four great houses.

8550

XCIV

Are q'ut ahavab
Ri ch u vach Ahav K'iche.
Are u leel
U tazel puch.
Are q'ut u bi 'ahavab va ch u pam nim haa.*
Xa kahib u nim haa.*

8550

8539. The MS has *caglacan*; FX has *cazlacan*; BB has 'red banner'.

8540. FX has *cozon*.

8541. BB reads *komah* 'blood' and *kun* 'vagina'.

8544. *Yaba Koh* 'sick panther' is probably a nickname.

8546. The MS has *Bam*; I read *Balam*. He was succeeded by Diego Pérez. Pedro de Salazar became head of the White Wind lineage.

8551. The MS has *pan* for *pam*.

8552. The following synopsis summarizes in approximately synchronic "generations" the succession of the leading Quiche lineages as it is depicted in the Popol Vuh. It attempts to interpret the ambiguities rather than to preserve them, and will accordingly be found to depart somewhat from the text, which is in any case self-contradictory. "Generations" are indicated by Roman numerals and rank order by Arabic ones. All the rulers after the First Fathers merited the title Ahav 'lord'. Other titles are indicated, together with lineage affiliations:

I

1. Jaguar Quiche (Kavek)
2. Jaguar Night (Great-Houses)
3. Nought (Lord)
4. Wind Jaguar (White Wind)

II

1. Chief Two (Kavek)
2. Chief Kinsmen (Kavek)
3. Chief Acul (Great-Houses)
4. Chief Acutec (Great-Houses)
5. Chief Lord (Lords)

III (ca. 1383)

1. Chief Two (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. Chief Acutec (Step House Counsellor, Great-Houses)
3. Chief Lord (?Nobleman, Lords)

IV

1. Chief Imitator (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. Chief Chahuh (Step House Counsellor, Great-Houses)
3. Chief Painted House (?Captain, Great-Houses)
4. Young Snake (?Nobleman, Lords)

V

1. Chief Imitator (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. 9 Deer (Step House Counsellor, and Captain, Great-Houses)
3. Chief Pounded (Nobleman, Lords)

VI

1. Chief Sweatbath (Counsellor and Captain ?Great-Houses)
2. White Life (Step House Counsellor, Great-Houses)
3. Chief No Medicine (Nobleman, Lords)

VII (ca. 1420-50)

1. Feathered Serpent (Counsellor and Step House Counsellor, Kavek)
2. 8 Monkey (Captain, Great-Houses)
3. White Life (?Nobleman, Great-Houses)
4. 7 Corn (Nobleman, Lords)

VIII (ca. 1450-90)

1. Blood (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. 8 Monkey (Step House Counsellor, Great-Houses)
3. Death (?Captain, Great-Houses)
4. Chief Death (Nobleman, Lords)

IX (ca. 1490-1500)

1. 7 Incense (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. Snake Mountain (Step House Counsellor, Kavek)
3. Chief Sweatbath (Captain, Great-Houses)
4. Chief Sick Panther (Nobleman, Lords)

X (ca. 1500-10)

1. 3 Deer (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. 9 Dog (Step House Counsellor, Kavek)

XCV

The Nobleman of the Lords was the name of the first lord.
 He had one great house.
 The Overseer of Cotton of the Lords was the second lord.
 He had one great house.
 The Great Chairman of the Lords was the third lord.
 He had one great house.
 And Fire Peak was the fourth lord.
 He had one great house.
 So there were four great houses
 Before the Lord Quiche.

8560

XCVI

And those who were the three Great Chairmen
 Were like honored fathers
 To all the Quiche lords.
 They gathered together as one,
 But they were still three Chairmen.
 They were hereditary.
 They were the mothers of the word;
 They were the fathers of the word.
 Rather great was their essence.
 There were three Chairmen:

8570

3. Chief Sweatbath (Captain, Great-Houses)
4. Twenty (Nobleman, Lords)

XI (ca. 1510-24)

1. Grandfather (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. Mountain Prince (Step House Counsellor, Kavek)
3. Don Cristóbal (Captain, Great-Houses)
4. Jaguar (Nobleman, Lords)

XII (ca. 1524-56)

1. 9 Jaguar (D. Juan de Rojas) (Counsellor, Kavek)
2. Don Juan Cortés (Step House Counsellor, Kavek)
3. Don Pedro de Robles (Captain, Great-Houses)
4. Don Diego Pérez (Nobleman, Lords)
5. Don Pedro de Salazar (Captain, White Winds)

Some documents insert an additional three generations between Jaguar Quiche and Chief Two (see note to line 7082). The Popol Vuh list adds three additional generations between Blood and 7 Incense, but these are unconfirmed in the preceding narrative. I have identified the 9 Deer, Chief Sweatbath, White Life, and 8 Monkey of the Kavek list with those of the Great-House list. I am further tempted to combine 8 Vine (line 8405) and Snake Mountain, and am uncertain about interpreting "him" as a successor to 8 Monkey, late in Blood's reign. I am persuaded that Chief Sweatbath may have been a

XCV

Ah Tzik Vinaq Ahav u bi nabe 'ahav

Hun u nim haa,
 Lol Met Ahav u kaab ahav *

Hun u nim haa,
 Nim Ch'okoh Ahav r ox ahav
 Hun u nim haa,
 Haka Vitz q'ut u kah ahav
 Hun u nim haa,
 Chi kahib q'ut nim haa
 Ch u vach Ahav K'iche.

8560

XCVI

Are q'u ri 'e 'oxib chi Nim Ch'okoh.
 Kehe ri 'e qahavixel
 R umal r onohel ahavab K'iche.
 Xa hun chi ki kuch vi k ib
 E 'oxib chik Ch'okohib.
 E 'alanel
 E 'u chuch tzih
 E 'u qahav tzih.
 Nim zkakin u q'oheyik
 E 'oxib chi Ch'okohib.

8570

Great-House and that White Life almost certainly was, which seems to fit his behavior (line 7480 ff.).

The lists appear to reflect, albeit somewhat confusingly, the changing fortunes of the lineages over a period of 12 "generations," probably no more than 220 years. They are less revealing about the pattern of succession. The lords of the second generation are definitely stated to be sons of the founding fathers, but it is equally definite that they inherited no titles from their fathers. The "succession" of the third generation involved elimination of two of these heirs and the inauguration of new titles. In the fourth generation, Chief Imitator was the incestuous son of the disinherited (?younger) brother, Chief Kinsmen by the wife of Chief Two. The ancestry of his contemporaries is not stated. In no subsequent generation can we document a case of succession by relationship, except that each title tends to remain the prerogative of a particular lineage. If my reconstruction is correct, even this rule was sometimes broken. See, however, note to line 8417.

All the lineages appear to have "adopted" illustrious ancestors in order to confirm the principles of older-younger brother seniority and father-son succession by primogeniture, but these principles were honored mainly in the breach.

8555. FX has *colmet*.

XCVII

The Great Chairman then before the Kaveks,
 (And the Great Chairman) before the Great-
 Houses was the second then,
 And the Great Chairman of the Lords before the
 Lord Quiche
 Was the third Great Chairman.
 There were three of the Chairmen then,
 Each in his own lineage.
 Really this is the essence of Quiche,
 Which is because there is no longer a view 8580
 of it.
 There was formerly the first one for the lords,
 But it is still lost.
 And really this finishes everything about Quiche
 Called Holy Cross.

8573. *Ch u vach Qavekib* is missing from the MS but
 is plausibly supplied by BX.

8579. The MS has *xare*.

XCVII

Nim Ch'okoh q'ut (ch u vach Qavekib) *
 Ch u vach Ni-Hayib u kaab q'u ri.
 Nim Ch'okoh Ahav ch u vach Ahav K'iche
 R ox Nim Ch'okoh.
 Chi 'oxib q'ut ri Ch'okohib
 Huhun ch u vach chinamit.
 Xere q'ut u q'oheyik K'iche *
 Ri r umal ma ha bi chi 'ilobal r e. 8580
 Q'o nabe 'oher k umal ahavab
 Zachinak chik.
 Xere q'u ri mi x utzinik chi k onohel K'iche *
 Santa Cruz u bi.

8583. BB, in a final spasm of romanticism, reads this
 'it's all over with all those of Quiche'.

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Entries in the index are primarily to the notes; numerals indicate the line number. The listings include (1) all Spanish and Nahuatl words that occur in the text, (2) all Quiche words unique to the Popol Vuh, with suggested meanings, (3) all forms occurring in the text for which my reading departs

substantially from the original orthography, and (4) a topical, primarily ethnographic index of the content of the notes, which may also serve to indicate the location of particular items in the text. Abbreviations are: Cak., Cakchiquel; n., noun; Nah., Nahuatl; p., particle; Sp., Spanish; v., verb.

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